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*A Naval Picture of
The Revolution*

By James L. Howard



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New Haven • Yale University Press
London • Humphrey Milford • Oxford University Press

1930

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Printed in the United States of America

Preface

THESE manuscripts should never go out of Connecticut," said a visitor as he laid a package on the desk.

"What are they about?" was the interested inquiry.

"Seth Harding, Captain in the Revolutionary Navy."

"Never heard of him," was the confession wrought from one who prides himself on being an amateur student of things colonial and revolutionary.

"Neither had I," the visitor replied, "until I ran across these papers. Then I checked up and found there was such a man."

Manuscripts of Revolutionary date have a peculiar fascination. One knows they must be handled gingerly. They are weak from age and careless use. Pains must be taken not to increase the tear in the folds.

The orthography is apt to be equally weak. Hours may be consumed in deciphering a phrase. Increasing familiarity with the handwriting lightens the task. Quaint expressions and unfamiliar or obsolete words become delightfully homelike.

The package is opened. A hurried inspection reveals letters of Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut; directions from his Council of Safety signed

now by William Williams, now by James Wadsworth, as Secretary; reports of Seth Harding on his naval work and his health; parole signed by a British commissary of prisoners; a peculiar-looking signed and sealed document written in Danish. Interest and cupidity are aroused. The papers change hands.

Home with the manuscripts and after further study the library is searched to find out what the general histories of the navy have to say about Harding.

Yes, Cooper knew something about him—tells of an early exploit in Massachusetts Bay, and of his attempt to transport John Jay to Europe. Pity they didn't believe in alphabetical indexes in Cooper's time! Someone ought to make up indexes for such books as his. It could have been done in the time it took to dig out the desired information. Spears and Abbot repeat this Massachusetts Bay engagement and that's about all. Maclay follows suit but in his subsequently published *History of American Privateers* he transfers the allegiance of Harding's brig from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Emmons squares accounts by crediting Harding with command of the Massachusetts privateer *Tyrannicide* but this should have read Haraden—the famous Jonathan. Dr. Gardner W. Allen in his *Naval History of the Revolution*—there's the best naval history, detailed and complete without being in the least tiresome, delight-

ful to read and easy of reference—tells more but the information is still meager.

Historians from across the ocean are equally meager. Beatson has a lot of information if one can find it—without an index—the best way is to read all six volumes including notes. Stedman mentions this engagement in Massachusetts Bay simply to record that the captured British commander, Colonel Campbell, “was treated in a cruel and savage manner.” Campbell’s own letters indicate that this was so. Not much, so far, to work on.

Naval records are notoriously incomplete. Almost every captain in the Continental Navy was captured at some time during the Revolution and as a result many of his papers were probably lost. Jones is the notable exception. According to British authorities he didn’t dare get captured. Perhaps that is why all the general historians of the Revolution leave the impression that naval activities consisted of the burning of the *Gaspée* and the defeat of the *Serapis* by the *Bonhomme Richard*. They even fail to emphasize that the daring captures made by the first venture-some sailors of the Revolution furnished Washington’s army in the early years with the veritable sinews of war.

The eye wanders to the shelf of John Paul Jones—no wonder people think he was the whole navy—even such an erudite journalist as George Creel

would have us believe "What George Washington meant to the cause of American independence on land, that did John Paul Jones mean at sea." This attitude is strengthened by the fact that the Navy Department has used a definition of what an officer should be which purports to be a quotation from John Paul Jones to the Marine Committee, September 14, 1775:

It is, by no means, enough that an officer of the Navy should be a capable mariner. He must be that, of course, but also a great deal more. He should be, as well, a gentleman of liberal education, refined manner, punctilious courtesy, and the nicest sense of personal honor. He should not only be able to express himself clearly and with force in his own language both with tongue and pen, but he should be versed in French and Spanish. . . . He should be the soul of tact, patience, justice, firmness, and charity. No meritorious act of a subordinate should escape his attention or be left to pass without its reward, if even the reward be only one word of approval. Conversely, he should not be blind to a single fault in any subordinate, though at the same time he should be quick and unfailing to distinguish error from malice, thoughtlessness from incompetency, and well-meant shortcoming from heedless or stupid blunder. As he should be universal and impartial in his rewards and approval of merit, so should he be judicial and unbending in his punishment or reproof of misconduct. . . .

Certainly an officer who answers this description is an honor to the service, and Colonel Buell was so enamored of his hero that he probably felt justified

in assigning to him all these attributes. But Mrs. DeKoven has so emphatically exploded the theory that this definition came from Jones's quill, that the Navy Department, it is reported, has dropped the quotation from a new edition of the form. Since in many circles this definition was considered as Jones's estimate of himself, it is to the credit of his memory that he needs no longer suffer from this accusation.

The shelf starts with a diminutive volume with the portentous title-page *The Life, Travels, Voyages and Daring Engagements of Paul Jones* (and adding *The Life and Adventures of Peter Williamson* so as to fill out a hundred pages); continuing through Mackenzie, Buell, DeKoven, and others down to Russell's *John Paul Jones, Man of Action*. Man of action he was, and few like him, but now someone should write, *J. P. J., Man of Letters*, to emphasize his chief activity after he captured the *Serapis*.

Alongside, blushing almost unseen, is poor old Esek Hopkins whom Gen. Henry Knox described as an antiquated figure resembling the famous Dutch Admiral Van Tromp. He gets into the limelight for a moment because he is the first and only admiral of the Revolution.

Manley and Tucker look unused and shopworn, but they are good reading, as is Barry. And Joshua Barney is revived by Paine's brilliant expansion of Miss Barney's memoirs of a century ago.

Will others be as interested in this newly found friend? He isn't as dashing as Jones nor as rough with the stern sex nor as persuasive with the gentler. Nor is he jealous of whether he should outrank this officer or that. He has left no record of such a precocious youth as Barney's, although he admits nine sea engagements prior to the Revolution. Nor did a love of adventure lead him, in the years following the close of the Revolution, to seek naval service under a foreign flag, although he did for certain reasons acquire foreign citizenship.

He is, perhaps, more nearly like Tucker—just an honest, God-fearing, down-east Yankee with plenty of patriotism and plenty of pluck. Harding had his brilliant successes and deplorable mishaps. Through all he served his country with unfailing loyalty, sacrificing his health and worldly goods to the cause, and experiencing the usual reluctance of Congress to reward its naval heroes. His story brings out some of the peculiar difficulties confronting the naval officer of the Revolution which are not emphasized by the general historians of that period.

The inclination to share this discovery is encouraged by the knowledge that much material in regard to the naval side of the American Revolution is still in unsuspected places and has been unavailable to historians. This condition was recognized by the edi-

tor of the *New York Times Book Review* in the issue of December 27, 1925, in which he says:

THE history of the American Revolutionary War is not yet fully written, and it will not be until we have a fuller knowledge of what was done on the sea. That knowledge comes in slowly because the records, as compared with those of land operations, are fragmentary, extremely numerous and widely dispersed; but without it we cannot understand how it was possible, by anything less than a miracle, for thirteen agricultural communities—all of which were exposed to attack by sea and more or less habituated to dependence upon seaborne commerce—to make head against the foremost sea power in the world.

We have hitherto been content to regard their success as due to divine interposition, but at last there is accumulating a body of facts which call for a more scientific interpretation. We have already learned that sea power is the controlling factor in nearly all protracted wars. Historians may soon reach the conclusion that the Revolutionary War was won, first of all, upon the sea.

This quotation is taken from a review of Middlebrook's *Maritime Connecticut during the American Revolution*. Captain Middlebrook has thoroughly investigated local newspapers and manuscripts in the public archives and has published a large amount of valuable material made accessible by a complete index. It is natural that a few inaccuracies should creep into a report covering such a wide and varied field, and attention is herein brought to one or two which concern Captain Harding, and the ships he com-

manded, only after the most careful review of original papers.

These Harding manuscripts have been compared with acknowledged authorities, and an effort has been made to piece together his story. It is appreciated that frequent references and notes in the text interrupt and annoy the reader. Therefore a separate list of manuscript sources and published authorities consulted has been included at the end of the book. There have been appended transcripts of certain manuscripts which appear to be more suitably placed by themselves. The recently acquired Journal of Joseph Hardy, Captain of Marines on the *Confederacy*, has been quoted in full.

There are two or three periods of Harding's activities which deserve fuller treatment but investigations have so far developed nothing further than is contained herein. The court records, probate records, and deeds of Barnstable County, Massachusetts, in which is located Harding's birthplace, Eastham, were destroyed by fire in 1827. The Massachusetts colonial records contain no reference to this particular Seth Harding. During the colonial period letters of marque were issued by the governors as vice-admirals of the Royal Navy and are not a matter of province record. Inquiry of the librarian of the British Admiralty has elicited no information. It can only be assumed therefore that his service during the French

and Indian War was as an officer of a letter of marque or privateer.

The narrative contained in this volume carries Harding to 1807 when all trace of him is lost. The Pension Bureau at Washington has no record whatsoever, advising that the early pension records were destroyed when the British burned Washington in 1814. Records of the Navy Department carry Harding only to 1779. Published genealogical records leave him at the same time. Connecticut probate and administration records fail to disclose his name, as is also the case with the records of New York City where his residence was established from 1786 to 1806. The old graveyards of New York reveal no memorial to this Revolutionary hero.

A record of the death of Captain Harding was at last found through the interest of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Acknowledgment is due to Miss Harriet R. Richards of New Haven for the painting reproduced as the frontispiece. The officers of the Navy Department, Library of Congress, Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, and New York Historical Society, have been very courteous and obliging in their assistance.

J. L. H.

Hartford, Connecticut,
August, 1929.

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Seth Harding, Mariner

I

Early Activities

THE Landing was a busy hive of shipping during the fifteen years preceding the Revolution. Vessels left port for the Hudson River and Albany with supplies for the Connecticut forces fighting French and Indians on the frontier. Sloops carried emigrants from Norwich Town and the back country to Nova Scotia to take possession of lands vacated by the exiled Acadians. Schooners and brigs carried horses, oxen, provisions, and lumber to Martinique, Barbados, and other West Indian ports, returning with molasses, rum, sugar, and coffee. Small pleasure craft sailed the broad waters of the Thames.

An estuary of Long Island Sound, the Thames receives the waters of the Yantic and the Shetucket, between which rises the sharp bluff of The Landing, whose few houses of Revolutionary days have given place to the handsome office buildings and residences of the present city of Norwich. But in these early days The Landing was populated by merchants, traders, shipmasters, and others bent on the accumu-

lation of wealth, while three miles north on the plain, clustered around the town plot of old Norwich, were the residences of those less interested in worldly goods than in becoming illustrious through virtue and learning.

A frosty morning late in January, 1776, two horsemen were seen trotting briskly up the road from Norwich toward Lebanon. The leader evidenced some unfamiliarity with the art of horsemanship as he bumped awkwardly along, while the second rode with the easy grace of one accustomed to the saddle and with the buoyancy of youth and high spirits. Approaching the foot of Lebanon hill they slowed down to a walk, the breath of men and horses showing white in the cold crisp air.

"There!" puffed the elder as the young man ranged alongside, "that was warming to the blood, but rather hard on these legs of mine. This animal is good to travel on but, believe me, I had rather have Norwich and Lebanon separated by a fair bit of sea so that I could make the trip with my feet planted on a good stout deck."

"But I thought you had given up the sea, Captain. My uncle told me you were the best master sailing out of Norwich and New London, but that you had decided to quit the sea when you went to Nova Scotia to live."

"True enough, son," the captain agreed. "I was never one to settle long in a place. I reckon I have the soul of a wanderer. I have sailed many a good ship

out of the Thames for the West Indies, and before that from my old home on Cape Cod.

"But one shore leave I got talking to some of those French Acadian exiles who were quartered around us at Norwich and I got sort of interested in the tales they told of the wonderful country down in Nova Scotia. And then the government was offering easy terms to settlers who would take up lands where the Acadians had been driven out.

"My daughter Abigail was married by that time and so my wife was pretty much alone when I was at sea. So it seemed best all 'round to up anchor and try something new. I would have been there yet if Nova Scotia hadn't turned out to be a pretty hot place for a down-east Yankee rebel. We got out with our lives and that was about all."

Captain Harding broke off with a mirthless laugh as his mind wandered back to the comfortable, almost wealthy years of his life which fate had so abruptly terminated. A look of embarrassment flitted across his face as he thought of the long speech he had just made—coming from one ordinarily so taciturn.

He was not a handsome man—with his shaggy eyebrows and long pointed nose, but his clear eye and firm chin with slightly protruding under lip created the impression of honesty and rugged determination.

Born April 17, 1734, at Eastham on Cape Cod of old Plymouth stock, Seth Harding's youth was spent among seafaring folk. His education was that acquired from rough, honest shipmasters rather than

from academic studies. Ten days after his nineteenth birthday he was married to Abigail Doane, a descendant, also, of one of the early Plymouth settlers. But his happiness was short-lived. Soon after the birth of a daughter Mrs. Harding died.

The bereaved husband with his little Abigail moved to Norwich Landing where in a few years he found a second mother for her in the person of Ruth Reed, to whom he was married November 24, 1760, in the Church of the Chelsea Society of which they were both members.

During this period Harding commanded the schooner *Olive Branch* engaged in coastwise trade to Nova Scotia and then commenced his activities in the West Indies trade despite the dangers of capture by French men-of-war. During the ensuing decade he commanded many vessels sailing from Norwich and New London for Dominico, Montserrat, Guadeloupe, and other West Indian ports—among these vessels being the schooners *Speedwell* and *Two Brothers*, the sloop *Betsey*, and the square-rigged snow *Conway*.

In 1771 Captain Harding removed to Nova Scotia, settling in Liverpool where he became the owner of a valuable salmon fishery, the income from which was supplemented by profits from trade with the West Indies. He represented his section of Queens County in the provincial General Assembly, serving also as justice of the peace and as one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, thus establishing

himself in the political and judicial life of the province as well as in commercial pursuits.

Heartily in accord with the sentiments of the New England colonists he eagerly listened to reports of the events which culminated in the siege of Boston by Colonial troops under General Washington. But he found himself in a hopeless minority. His prestige and reputation suffered in a community whose views were radically opposed to his own.

To describe the situation in his own words: “. . . being born in New England and haveing spent many years of his time in Massachusetts and Connecticut—could not devest himself of that sacred regard he had for his Native Country—and the Rights of mankind and finding he was about to be called on from authority under the King of grate Britain to take up arms against his frends and Country, he was in the month of Aug’t. in sd. year obliged to abandon his Intrest and Places of honour and profit in sd. province, and arrived in the Massachusetts with his wife and daughter and from thence to Norwich in Connecticut which at that time was a self-created government—where he had been an Inhabitent for many years and being without property or Business was never the less known to his old acquaintances and finding his former friends in power was employed by Governor Trumbull and his Council . . .”

The sight of Lebanon’s church steeple brought Captain Harding’s mind back to his surroundings. “Yes,” he resumed, “we were lucky to get off with

our lives. The commander of a British sloop confiscated all we had, claiming it was property of an enemy. But here we are at the governor's. Hold the horses while I look for him at the War Office."

Lebanon, now so far removed from the currents of trade, was at this time a center of activity on the highroad from New York and Hartford to Boston. The chief figure of this town of about four thousand souls was Jonathan Trumbull, merchant and statesman. In the years before the war he carried on an extensive trade with the West Indies and had amassed a not inconsiderable fortune. Horses, cattle, and wagon trains of grain and salt provisions went over the road to Norwich, there to be loaded on vessels bound for West Indian ports which sent him in return sugar, molasses, and other commodities.

Judge, Deputy, and Governor, he had now become the "Rebel Governor of Connecticut," in fact the only rebel governor in America at the outbreak of the Revolution. Gray-haired, vigorous, and commanding, his sixty-five years added only dignity to his activity, devoted whole-heartedly and unsparingly to the cause of the colonies. His ships had disappeared from the seas,—the *New London Gazette* on September 15, 1775, carried the message under the heading "Thomas Allen's Marine List," "Here ends the last Lesson for Navigation in this District until a Reversion of Times,"—and his wagon trains were now hauling clothes, provisions, and gunpowder to the troops besieging Boston.

The War Office, a small wooden structure with hipped roof and central chimney, still preserved as a monument to the war governor, had already served the Trumbull family for forty years as store and office. Since his first election as governor in 1769 Jonathan Trumbull had used this store as his headquarters excepting when at the capital cities of Hartford and New Haven.

As Captain Harding approached the building it was evident that a meeting of the Committee of Safety was just breaking up. Governor Trumbull emerged from the back room, followed by Col. Jabez Huntington, William Williams, and others.

"Well met, Captain Harding," was the governor's greeting, "we have just been discussing your affairs and decided to send you to Saybrook to supervise the building of a ship. Mr. Huntington has your order which he can deliver to you now."

"Thank you, your Honor, your directions will be obeyed. I came here particularly today to see Mr. Benjamin Huntington to report my failure to find a ship suitable for the colony to purchase. But I find your other committee has discovered one."

"Yes, we have bought a brigantine, a new vessel which has made one trip to the West Indies. She will be brought to New Haven at once to be fitted out. Her name is *Lilly Ann*. That does not sound very warlike," the governor added with a smile, "so I think we will rename her *Defence*."

"I would like your Honor to consider my applica-

tion to take command of the new ship. My services are in any event at your disposal, but I think I would possibly be of more value to the colony on the sea than in an unaccustomed berth on land."

"Your application shall have every consideration when the time comes, Captain Harding," the governor assured him; "I have the best of reports on your qualifications. But come to my house and partake of some refreshments before you resume your journey. My man will care for your horses."

The discussion centered on the necessity of armed ships to prey upon the British transports and supply vessels. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress had appointed a committee to discuss the expediency of establishing a fleet to cruise off the New England coast. General Washington had urged the great advantage to be derived by intercepting British vessels and thus enabling him to furnish his troops with ammunition and other supplies of which he was so sorely in need. Captains Manley and Tucker of Massachusetts, Capt. William Coit of Connecticut, and others commanding the vessels of "Washington's Flotilla" had already met with success in this direction.

Harding had recently been offered command of the merchant vessel *Peggy* owned by Christopher Champlin of Norwich. The master of that ship, William Barron, had fallen under the suspicion of Congress, whose committee had reported the belief that Barron "would not be very solicitous to prevent the cargo, which might be useful to the ministerial army,

from falling into the possession of the men-of-war, he having been before taken in the same ship, in Rhode Island, with a cargo from Chesapeake Bay for Europe."

Congress accepted the report and authorized the ship's owner to appoint a new master subject to the approval of the committee of Norwich. Champlin thereupon addressed the committee, "I am induced to offer for your approbation a Gentleman wholly a stranger to me, and well known to you to command said ship, one who is recommended to me to be a Person of Ability and Integrity, viz. Captain Seth Hardin . . .," but Harding had already offered his services to the colony and preferred to await the outcome.

The desirability of utilizing Captain Harding's knowledge and experience was recognized by the governor and his advisers. On February 23d the Committee of Safety appointed Seth Harding to be Captain of the brig *Defence*, and in succeeding weeks, after some temporary selections, his assistants were chosen: Ebenezer Bartram of Fairfield, First Lieutenant; Samuel Smedley, Lieutenant of Marines and subsequently Second Lieutenant; Joseph Squire, Lieutenant of Marines; Josiah Burnam, Master.

Captain Harding repaired at once to New Haven where the brig was being outfitted. He found a likely looking vessel, new—one voyage to the West Indies—which the colony had purchased for £1,000. She measured 62 feet keel, 23 feet beam, 11 feet in the

hold. He decided that she would mount 16 six-pounders and 24 swivels. On March 14 he wrote to the governor:

THIS serves to Inform you of the sittuation of the Brig *Defence* She is now at the wharf Expect the Tide will be full about Next monday Shall then take hur down to the pear and grave hur I am Inlisting men Every Day Shall make all the Despach posable Everything is now proceeding Dayly for the Cruse Expect to be at New London the Latter part of Next weke

That Captain Harding was pleased with his new command is unquestionable, and he may well have celebrated the occasion with his officers and friends in a manner perhaps too exuberant for some of them. At any rate it came to the notice of the Council of Safety on whose records appears the following:

APRIL 2, 1776. Capt. Seth Harding, of the Colony brig *Defence* was complained of to this Board for being guilty of intemperance, upon which he appeared, and the evidence on both sides were fully heard and considered by his Honor the Governor and this Council, but cannot find cause to remove him.

This carries the atmosphere of a Scotch verdict, but a verdict sufficiently exonerating for the times in which it was given.

The ship was graved and all was ready for sea except the complement of sailors. Enlistments were slow but Harding decided he had sufficient number to sail the ship and so departed for New London.

He then asked the governor to complete his requirements by transfer from the army, but the governor replied that "the inlistment of men from the Continental Army doth not lye with me. General Washington is coming forward—his orders may be necessary."

General Washington did indeed come forward—on his way to New York from Boston, following the evacuation of that city by the ministerial troops. On April 9* Washington and Trumbull met for dinner at the house of Gen. Jabez Huntington in Norwich and discussed matters of importance respecting the coming campaign. Washington then proceeded to New London where he lodged with the navy agent, Nathaniel Shaw.

New London was agog with excitement not alone due to the presence of the Commander-in-Chief. The brigades of General Greene and General Spencer were pouring in from their overland march preparing to take transports for New York. The harbor was alive with transports and with ships of the squadron under command of Commodore Hopkins who had just returned from his successful expedition to the island of New Providence and had brought his fleet

* This date is emphasized by this note merely for the sake of accuracy. Trumbull in his *Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 183, and Stuart in his *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, p. 260, give it incorrectly as April 13. Governor Trumbull wrote to his son, Col. Joseph Trumbull, on Saturday, April 13, 1776: ". . . I had the pleasure of an hour or two with the latter [Washington] and his company at Norwich Tuesday last."

and prizes into New London, turning over his prisoners to the Connecticut authorities.

The glamor of this expedition had been somewhat clouded by the failure of the squadron to capture the British man-of-war *Glasgow* which had been engaged for four hours at the entrance to Long Island Sound and had been permitted to escape to the shelter of the enemy fleet in Narragansett Bay. An indignant public demanded an explanation as to the inefficiency of officers who with overwhelming superiority would allow an enemy ship to escape. The fault was not at this time laid principally at Hopkins' door and the naval officers as a whole were assailed by the people.

A malignant fever had brought about a deplorable condition of sickness on board the fleet. Temporary hospitals were erected on shore to receive over two hundred such cases. Hopkins in an interview with General Washington on board the *Alfred* informed him of a plan he had prepared to redeem himself by attacking the British ships under Wallace then lying off Newport. He asked the general to spare him two hundred men for this service. Washington accordingly loaned him one hundred and seventy men from Greene's brigade, "to be returned as soon as the service is performed." The *Defence*, however, was not included in this distribution and Harding's difficulty in securing the necessary number of enlistments among residents of New London and Groton was not lessened by the popular disapproval and by the sight of so many sick sailors from Hopkins' command.

On the fourteenth Washington, now arrived in New York, sent Hopkins information that British ships had sailed from Newport with the probable intention of blocking up the squadron in New London Harbor. “. . . I should be extremely glad if you would keep a good look out to see that the coast is clear, before any more of the Continental troops embark from New London.”

On the fifteenth Harding received orders from Governor Trumbull immediately to complete his enlistments to one hundred and twenty men and to report with the *Defence* and the colony armed schooner *Spy*, Captain Niles, to Admiral Hopkins for duty on a short cruise with the Continental fleet under the latter's command.

Greene, evidently desiring to get away before the expected arrival of the British fleet, got his troops aboard the transports and sailed, in spite of the fact that Hopkins was not ready to give him any protection. Luckily the British ships did not appear as a snowstorm blew up that same night and dispersed the troopships. Greene, however, was able to collect his scattered fleet and arrived safely at New York on the seventeenth.

Hopkins learned that the British squadron had left Newport, probably for Halifax. It was therefore safe to venture out and on the twenty-fourth he released the two Connecticut vessels from further orders and led his squadron to Rhode Island, abandoning the idea of a cruise in search of the enemy. Never again

during the war did the American fleet cruise under Commodore Hopkins, or in fact under any officer, as a unit.

This inactivity was not pleasing to Washington and he sent a peremptory order to Hopkins to return the borrowed soldiers at once. Presumably they were all returned, at any rate a majority of them, as Capt. Paul Jones in command of the *Providence* writes from New York on May 19: "I was ordered to take command of this vessel the 10th currt. I arrived here yesterday afternoon in 36 hours from Rhode Island with a return of upwards of 100 men besides officers, which Gen. Washington lent to the fleet at N. London."

Had Harding been informed of this incident at the time he would have been less disgruntled at the failure to accede to his request for transfers from the army. He had succeeded in enlisting a fair complement, however, and immediately upon his release by Commodore Hopkins he acted under orders previously received from the governor and sailed up Long Island Sound.

From Fairfield he reported:

AGREEABLE to your Honours Orders I put my Self in readiness to proceed with Commidore Hopkins to Road Island, but Hearing that the Fleet had sailed from thence, the Commidore thought it not advisable for me to sail with him. I have since followed your Honours former Orders up sound, I put in at New Haven and took in some Shot, and from thence to Fairfield where we yet continue In-

listing men, I expect that we shall get about a Dozen here, Seamen are very Scarce to be found to the Westward, I shall proceed on to the Westward to Norwalk[?] and make all possible Dispatch and then return back to New London agreeable to your Honours Orders, I shall call in at Norwalk and Stamford, and from thence to Long Island and get all the Men that I can.

In the vicinity of Fairfield he captured a small sloop carrying Tories to Long Island. Investigation developed the alarming intelligence, through the confession of one of their number, Samuel Hawley of Redding, that a systematic plan of espionage was being carried on between British sympathizers in southwestern Connecticut and Tories on Long Island. It was alleged that a line of intelligence was maintained from Long Island to Quebec whereby movements of the Colonial troops were reported to the enemy. These same British sympathizers were very active in assisting British prisoners to escape.

Activities of this nature were forwarded by a peculiar condition which existed along the shores of Long Island Sound. Whales were once as numerous in the Sound as they were at a later date in remote waters. Whaling companies were organized in all coast towns of Connecticut from New London to Stamford as well as in towns on the opposite Long Island shore. While whales had disappeared at the time of the Revolution yet the organizations were still maintained.

From the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 a whale-

boat warfare was carried on between the Connecticut colonists and the Tories of Long Island, the latter being assisted to a considerable extent by their Connecticut sympathizers. The objects of expeditions were various: from attacking enemy vessels and garrisoned posts to mere plundering excursions; kidnapping prominent personages and carrying spies to assist them in penetrating the enemy's lines.

Harding realized the seriousness of the espionage situation and promptly took measures to defeat the plot. He rounded up several suspicious characters, induced them to make sworn confessions and forwarded the reports to the governor. That they were startling, to say the least, is shown by the letters* exchanged by the governor and his naval commander. They begin, chronologically, with Harding's letter from Fairfield dated May 15, 1776.

Captain Harding to Governor Trumbull

Fairfield 15th May 1776

SIR:

Agreeable to Order I now transmit your honour an account of my Proceedings since my last Letter wrote while at Fairfield since which have enlarged my Number to about one hundred and expect soon to have my Complement of Men. I proceeded with the Brigg under my Command from Black Rock Harbour Westward and on the 12th Instant espied A small Sloop attempting to Cross the Sound which I brought along Side and on Examination found Eight Persons on board who pretended they were going

* Jonathan Trumbull Papers—MSS.

to New York for Shad but on more strict Enquiry found to my Satisfaction they were Tories from the Town of Redding in Fairfield County bound to long Island to join Peter Fairchild a Noted Tory who had Fled to the Island before one of the Eight was Samuel Hawley whose Declaration is inclosed the Contents of which Declaration are a profound Secret not communicated even to my officers chusing rather to leave the matter to your honours Wise Direction considering the Character of a respectable Gentleman who seems to be slightly pointed at upon discovering that Peter Fairchild was on the Island I ordered Lieut Smedley with a Number of Men to proceed to the Island in the small Sloop in Order to apprehend Fairchild but upon Mr Hawleys disclosing the whole Scene I hoisted a Signal for Lieut Smedley to return which he did immediately and we arrived here this Day since which have dispatched my Orders Several Ways and have bro't in Seven more Tories whose Names were given me by one of the Eight taken on Board the Sloop and expect some of the Leading Persons will soon be apprehended have ordered a small Sloop to be taken into the Governments Service and Lieut Smedley with Forty men under him to take the Sloop and proceed directly to long Island in pursuit of Fairchild with Directions to take one of the Eight Tories taken in the Little Sloop who knows the Place where Fairchild is lodged and had appointed to join him there who is to write to Fairchild and acquaint him of his Arrival which it is hoped will afford Lieut Smedley a favourable opportunity to Seize him I have taken this Step from a full Conviction of great Expediency & even Necessity of the measure and by the advice of Jonathan Sturges Esqr whom I have Consulted on the occasion in the before mentioned manœuvre

had an opportunity to open Sundry Letters passing the Sound which have improved but made no material Discoveries I send this to your honour by my Clerk and pray a Copy of this by him as I am so hurried as not to have Time to copy. Shall proceed to New London with a view more thoroughly to fit the Brigg and procure Such things as are necessary for a Cruise unless your honours should order me otherwise it is my opinion it will be highly serviceable to employ several small Cruisers in the Sound especially at the Westward to prevent the Collection of Tories on the Island and to prevent the Escape of those who are Collected there as it is hoped an attempt will be made soon to Seize the whole Body of them I pray your honours Directions for my future Conduct which I shall endeavour punctually to observe and shall make it my great Study to serve the Common Cause to the utmost of my Power.

Jonathan Sturges and Seth Harding to Governor Trumbull

Fairfield 15th May AD 1776

SIR

The Declaration of Samuel Hawley inclosed in Capt Hardings Letter to which we beg Leave more particularly to refer your honour Contains the most minute Account we have yet been able to get of a horrid Plot formed by the Tories to cooperate with our Enemies to destroy the Country. This Mr Hawley whom Capt Harding has encouraged to Expect Favour as far as is consistent with the publick Safety is an Inhabitant of Redding of good Estate and appears to be a candid Sensible Man was very frank and open in his Declaration seems to be very Penitent and willing to Submit to any thing that shall be imposed on him, he disclosed the affair Voluntarily without any Compulsion and alto-

gether free and seems to rejoice that he is stop'd in his Course and appears to be much relieved from the Distress of mind the Tories generally Labour under; if he might have your Honour's or the honorable Assemblys Favour to be improved as a Witness would Submit to such Bond for his Appearance before your honour's, the Superior Court, or any other Court, for his good Behaviour, and abiding on his own Plantation as your Honours shall Order, from the opportunity we have had to become acquainted with his Temper and Disposition we think we may venture to recommend him to your honour's Favour so far at Least as to be under Bonds for his appearance and good Behaviour untill the Superior Court then to give Evidence. Cap^t Harding thinks himself bound in Honour to make this Representation to your honour and We think We can freely join with him as We trust something effectual will be done now to root out the Gang so that we do not apprehend Danger from M^r Hawley should he prove to be false in the End which we can by no means believe we Submit the matter to your honours wise Conduct

Jonathan Sturges was Justice of the Peace in Fairfield County and was of great assistance to Harding in dealing with these delinquents. The plot seemed to the patriots not only traitorous but dastardly.

The town of Redding was a center of loyalist sympathy. The Redding Loyalist Association was formed early in 1775, with 142 members who signed a statement of principles and authorized its publication in *Rivington's Gazette*. The following extracts indicate the nature of the principles:

WE suppose the Continental Congress was constituted

for the purpose of restoring harmony between Great Britain and her colonies . . . whereas on the contrary the present unhappy breach is being widened.

We consider it an indispensable duty we owe to our King and Constitution, our country and posterity, to defend, maintain, and preserve, at the risk of our lives and properties, the prerogative of the crown, and the privileges of the subject from all attacks by any rebellious body of men, any Committees of Inspection, Correspondence, etc.

Col. Gold Selleck Silliman, commanding the local regiment, had recently experienced trouble with the Redding company whose officers were Capt. Daniel Hill, Lieut. Peter Lyon, and Ensign Samuel Hawley. Colonel Silliman's regiment had been ordered to New York and warning for muster had been sent to all towns in his district. The Redding company refused to respond. Silliman suspected that the muster order was secretly opened at Peter Fairchild's tavern because virtually every member of the company disappeared before the official warning. Peter Fairchild fled to Long Island and accepted a commission as Captain in the Queen's Rangers under Col. Robert Rogers. The officers of the recalcitrant company were apprehended as related by Harding.

Captain Harding's next activities are reported to the governor from Fairfield on May 16, 1776.

Captain Harding to Governor Trumbull

Fairfield May 16th 1776

12 oClock P.M.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONNOUR

Inclosed I send the Confession of Charles McNiell, John

McKey & Daniel Baldwin & a duplicate of the first as the Original was taken something hastily— It is really astonishing to see with what seeming coolness they was made— it needless to observe any about them as each Contains very full Declaration of whatever seemed to respect the Declarants, but nothing cou'd be extracted from them further than as appers by their Confessions— hope Your Honour will excuse me for desiring the Original of each to be sent back as their Names were Subscribed by their own hands & may be useful on their Tryals which will come on in a few Days— I was present with the Committee at each Examination and with advise and assistance of them have ben Able to forward the plan of sending a Vessel on a Cruise to the Isleland— She set out this morning with a fair wind & I am in hopes she will soon return with her desired Cargo— I have with advise of Committee sent fresh Orders to Newtown from whence I am in expectation of Receiving some Persons of no small Consequence— Nothing further has transpired concerning an Eminent Character in this Colony who was mentioned in my last— I have Communicated the affair to Nobody but Mr. Stoddard who has been helpful to me as Scribe in my very great hurry as he is a Young Gent^m with whom, I have had an intimate Acquaintance since here & doubt not but I may rely upon him as I believe him a Man of integrity & honour for which I refer You to Mr Burr— & also to Capt. Smedly of the *Defence*— Am hopeful Your Honour will be tender in exposing that certain great Character as I have found nothing as yet so conclusive against him as I am under strong Apprehensions I shall in a few Days— Hawleys Confession was perfectly voluntary (as indeed were the Rest) being frequently cautioned by Mr Sturges & Self

not to say any thing but that to which he cou'd make Oath & especially avoid traducing the Reputation of any innocent Man— I am fully convinced a little perseverance will disclose a Scheme of the blackest dye & make notorious a Catalogue which once wou'd have exceeded all credibility— The Brig *Defence* is so well known in this part of the sound that I apprehend it wou'd have been in vain to have sent her out on the present affairs Accordingly with advice of the Committee took the Sloop *Discovery* into Service gave the command of her to Capt Smedly— Subalterns were appointed from among respectable Gent^m of this Town— Manned her with forty of my own people— hope Your Honour will excuse the Liberty on this pressing emergency— Shou'd imagin it wou'd be of consequence by some small Cruisers to cut off entirely the Communication between the Main & the Isleland; unless sufficient certificates for a Passport were first obtained from Magistrates or the Committee— however submit the whole to your Honour's Judgment. In the mean time as Your Honours in Council was pleased to vote that I shoud have Orders to Cruise on the High Seas for a while hope I may not be disappointed— I await Your Honours further Commands & shall Cheerfully fulfill them with my best Abilities— As my own desire was, I joined Commidore Hopkins at New London after the Enemy had left the Coast I obtained leave to pursue Your Honours first orders, have touched at several places & have now near an hundred Men,— Shoud have been now ready to have proceeded on a Cruise to Sea had not these new affairs turned up— Notwithstanding I mention my desires of going to Sea, am however all submission to future Orders—

The inclosed Letter to Coll. Cook has been opened by

some of our Friends, that by means of this Carriage it might come to Your honours knowledge,— Coll. Cook will know the well intended design as it was done by advice of his good friends— am desired to forward it which I accordingly do— When I arrived at this place found the Committee industriously employed in examining Tories, as I imagined matters was not fully ripe I desired them to suspend their Examⁿ till next Tuesday at which time will hope to have something particular from Your Honour— Shall communicate everything of Consequence as occasion may require—

A dusty and crumbling package—records of the Superior Court of Fairfield County for June, 1776,— contains the account of these cases, including the confession of John McKey which will serve to tell the story.

It appears that Charles McNeill of Redding came to him at Norwalk on about April 15 and told him that Colonel Grant of his Majesty's service had two lieutenant's commissions made out for McNeill and McKey which would place them in a body of about five thousand men to be raised in America to assist the ministerial army and to be called the Royal Americans. This British officer in disguise had been circulating among the colonists in that locality, frightening them with the rumors of the probable descent of a large force of British troops and giving them the opportunity to get on the right and safe side of the controversy.

On May 11 at about three o'clock in the

morning McNeill aroused McKey at the latter's house near Norwalk. McNeill had four other men with him and claimed that their dealings had been discovered and that they must escape to Long Island to avoid being tarred and feathered. McKey, according to his confession, was much displeased at this intrusion, but nevertheless concealed the evildoers and arranged with one Jonathan Jarvis to furnish a small sloop for the purpose of taking them to Long Island. It was this sloop which was captured by Captain Harding.

Governor Trumbull's response to these reports is contained in his letter to Harding from Hartford, dated May 18:

Governor Trumbull to Captain Harding

Hartford May 18th 1776

SIR

I have received your Letters of the 15th and 16th Inst, communicating alarming intelligence of most unnatural and traitorous Combinations among the Inhabitants of this Colony posses'd & enjoying the most valuable & important Privileges, to betray them all into the hands of our cruel oppressors. It is shocking and astonishing Conduct & evinces the deep degeneracy & wickedness of which mankind is capable.

Have laid your Communications before my Council. They are equally shocked at this horrid business & will with me be ready to come into any proper measures to defeat & suppress this wicked Conspiracy to the utmost of our Power, & in the meantime approve & applaud your zeal and activity

to discover & apprehend any Persons carrying on or aiding these wicked & malicious Designs, & for these purposes that you continue cruising in the Sound for the present, & to give me every information you can obtain of any thing wherein the public good & safety are concerned, & of your further Proceedings from time to time.

Continuance of his efforts to break up the Tory plots is reported by Harding in his letter of the twentieth:

Captain Harding to Governor Trumbull

Fairfield May 20th 1776

HONOURED SIR

I received your favour of the 18th wherein Your Honour has been pleased to Order me to Cruise in the Sound untill further Orders, after I had taken the small Sloop that was carrying the Tories to Long Island I fixt her with two swivels and put thirty men on Board for to go to the Island and Search after some Tory deserters that we heard Lodged at such a place which went and returned without making any new discoveries After which I fixt out another small Sloop called the *discovery* to cruise to the westward which has likewise returned; I am now about fixing out another small Sloop that was taken from a Tory, that I have called the *life guard*, to be commanded by Mr Smedley to Cruise to the westward, as I have occasion of many necessaries for the Brig before she can be fit for duty I shall return to New London and there prepare her for Service and after that return back back to the westward and Cruise except I receive further Orders from your Honour, the unnatural combination betwixt the Tories Dayly grows more and more open

and I shall shortly send your Honour some new discoveries that I have allready made, they are first examined by me, which will detain me here for two or three Days, I have cited the Committee and shall resign them up to the Committee, After I arrive at New London if I have a convenient Opportunity shall wait upon your Honour and Assembly

Twenty-six conspirators in all were apprehended. The fate of those whose names appeared conspicuously in this correspondence was varied: John McKey had his estate confiscated, got a year in Litchfield jail and further confinement at East Haddam, but was finally granted liberty and his estate restored; McNeill managed to escape and served as Captain-Lieutenant in the Prince of Wales American Volunteers; Peter Lyon got away and was killed in British service; Capt. Daniel Hill was more fortunate, he seemed to be successful in placing the blame upon others and was permitted to remain in Redding a quiet spectator until the close of the war.

Harding was learning that the Revolutionary sentiment was not universally indorsed even here in Connecticut, and that important military information was being furnished by supposed friends. While the large majority of Connecticut colonists was heart and soul for the cause, yet an important minority, located chiefly in the southwestern portion of the colony, was not in sympathy with armed rebellion, and a not inconsiderable number was in enthusiastic accord with the side which happened to be on top locally for the time being.



1774 Map of Colony of Connecticut

Samuel Hawley, who so readily confessed, appears to fall in the last category, although at the time he made a strong impression of fidelity.

THIS Mr. Hawley . . . appears to be a candid Sensible man, was very frank and open in his Declaration, seems to be very Penitent and willing to Submit to anything that shall be imposed on him . . . and seems to rejoice that he is stop'd in his Course and appears to be much relieved from the Distress of mind the Tories generally Labour under.

And yet two years later he sinned again. To put it in his own words when he was pleading for release from prison:

UNDER the influence of a belief that the country would be subdued he . . . left the country and went to the enemy, but being afterwards perswaded that his conduct was unjustifiable . . . he did return home and resign himself up to authority and took the oath of fidelity . . .

It reminds one of the innkeeper on the frontier during the Franco-Prussian War who displayed a sign bearing the legend "At the sign of the Emperor." Two rolls were concealed therein to be unrolled at will. When the Uhlans galloped in from the east he hurriedly pulled down the roll bearing a portrait labeled "William I." When the Chasseurs clattered up the street from the west he quickly substituted the other roll inscribed "Napoleon III."

Engagement in Massachusetts Bay

ON May 24 the *Defence* put into New London for refitting and then sailed around Cape Cod to Plymouth, it having become necessary to take on ballast. Going ashore to visit his friend Dr. Lathrop, Captain Harding learned that some of the ladies were very desirous of inspecting a ship of war, and he promptly invited them aboard for tea.

At the appointed hour the captain's barge rowed alongside, the crew was piped on deck, and the ladies climbed aboard—Mrs. Lathrop, Mrs. John Adams and her sister, and Mrs. Warren.

"Mrs. Adams," said Captain Harding after introductions were exchanged, "we are indeed honored to have you aboard ship. We are all sincere admirers of your patriotic husband."

"Thank you, Captain," Mrs. Adams replied, "this is a novel experience for me. I had expected to find much noise and bustle on board a war vessel, but everything is as quiet and orderly as a—as a church service."

"It is not always so quiet but I flatter myself we have an able and God-fearing crew. If I find a man who swears continually and if I cannot reform him

I turn him on shore, although I am free to confess that it was a sin of my youth."

"All the more credit to you, Captain Harding. They seem very contented," she added, as she observed that the men had gathered in groups, some singing, some listening to two sailors playing violin and flute. After tea had been served the captain inquired, "Would you like to see them at work, Mrs. Adams?" The captain turned to his lieutenant: "Mr. Smedley, show the ladies how the guns are manned."

Lieutenant Smedley sprang to the quarter-deck and summoned the boatswain. "Pipe your men to gun stations." "Aye, aye, sir," was the prompt response. The boatswain's whistle piped shrilly, a few quick orders were given, a tramping of feet, a momentary confusion, and all was still again as the ladies, accompanied by Mr. Smedley, inspected the spar deck, and graciously thanked the sailors for their hospitality.

"You were fortunate to get in around the Cape without meeting the British warships," Mrs. Warren remarked. "It was only yesterday that our island batteries drove them from their anchorage in the bay."

"Yes, indeed, Madam," Captain Harding agreed. "I sailed all the way from New London without sighting a single vessel. We heard the firing to the northward yesterday and I propose to move in that direction as soon as I get my supplies aboard."

"Well, Captain, you have everything that promises a successful cruise. We wish you the best of luck."

"We have everything but a most important feature. The brig is not as fast as I would like. Her spars and sails are a proper pattern for a warlike vessel but her bottom is not equal to her upper works. She is a dull sailer and I fear we may not be able to overtake a fast sailing prize or show our heels to superior force."

After cordial adieus the ladies went over the side into the waiting barge to return to shore. The boatswain hitched up to the captain and touching his cap said: "Sir, the boys would like to give the honorable ladies a salute."

"All right, bo'sun. I guess that won't do much damage to the regulations."

The salute boomed out from the port guns, the startled ladies jumped and clapped their hands to their ears, but being reassured by Mr. Smedley, who was guiding the barge, recovered their composure and smilingly waved their handkerchiefs at the cheering sailors, although it was, as Mrs. Adams expressed it in a letter to her husband, "A ceremony I would very readily have dispensed with."

At daybreak the next morning, Sunday, July 16, the *Defence* weighed anchor and stood up the bay toward Boston Harbor. The dense fog rendered the visibility very low and necessitated extreme care to avoid the rocks and shoals. Soon the sound of cannon was heard to the northward and Captain Harding

looked anxiously at the sails hardly filled by the faint breeze which propelled the brig slowly through the water.

Toward two o'clock the fog lifted. The lookout at the masthead called "Sail on the port bow, sir." Captain Harding adjusted his spyglass, scanned the horizon and handed the glass to his lieutenant with the query, "What do you make out of it, Mr. Smedley?"

"A ship and a brig and four small sails, sir. The two large vessels look to be Britishers and they are driving off the small schooners which may belong to General Washington's fleet."

"Yes," said Captain Harding, taking a second look through the glass, "and the large vessels appear to be putting in toward the harbor. Crowd on all the sail you can, Mr. Smedley, and see if we cannot overtake them."

But the wind was still too light to hasten the speed of the brig and it was not until evening that they came within hailing distance of one of the small schooners.

"Ship ahoy! What ship is that?"

"Schooner *Warren*, Captain Burke," was the reply. "Who are you?"

"Brig *Defence*, Captain Harding. Come aboard, will you?"

The *Warren's* boat was lowered away and Captain Burke was soon standing on the deck of the *Defence*.

"They are Scotch transports," he explained.

"They came up the bay this afternoon thinking that the British were still occupying Boston. We had a running fight all morning but they were too warm for us."

"How many men did you lose?" Harding inquired.

"Not one."

"Then you didn't get near enough to them."

"Well," said Burke, "do you try."

"That I will!" replied Harding, and as Captain Burke went over the side to rejoin the schooner he directed Lieutenant Smedley to summon the crew aft. Captain Harding stood on the quarter-deck, his shoulders thrown back, his eyes blazing.

"My men, we are going to show these schooner crews a real fight. Two British transports lie just inside Boston Harbor. We will capture them tonight. I want every man to do his duty and show what kind of fighters Connecticut raises. And remember, no gun will be fired until I give the command."

Toward the end of April, at Greenock, on the west coast of Scotland, the 71st Regiment of Highlanders had embarked for New England to assist in the work of suppressing the rebellion. The fleet, aside from a 32-gun frigate as convoy, consisted of the *George*, *Experiment*, *Annabella*, *Millham*, *Henry* and *Joseph*, *Lord Howe*, and *Ann*, each carrying more than one hundred soldiers.

The third week out a violent gale arose and scattered the transports in all directions. Some found

their way safely into Halifax or New York Harbor. The *Ann* was captured on the high seas by the *Lee* and the *Warren* and taken into Marblehead. In the seventh week after leaving Scotland the *George* and *Annabella*, under the command of Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, approached Boston Harbor in complete ignorance of the fact that the town had been evacuated by the British nearly three months before.

As the two vessels tacked back and forth against contrary winds Colonel Campbell paced the quarter-deck of the *George* anxiously scanning the harbor through his glass in the dim light of early morning. He stopped abruptly and turned to his second-in-command.

"Major Menzies, what do you make of those sail to windward?"

"I was just studying them, Colonel," the latter replied, "and I take them to be pilot vessels."

"I don't see any pilot signals," spoke up Captain Bog, the ship's commander; "in fact, I don't recognize any signals at all."

"Then better clear ship for action," ordered the colonel, "and signal Captain MacKenzie to disregard us and rush the *Annabella* straight up the harbor in order to reach the protection of the fleet while we hold off these small fry with our heavier cannon. If they are rebel force we will find it out soon."

The small vessels, coming down before the wind, soon displayed their hostile intentions by opening fire on the *Annabella*, inflicting slight damage before she

pulled out of range. The *George* promptly came into action, her shot flying harmlessly overhead. But the Continental vessels apparently feared coming to closer quarters and after a desultory fire of several hours bore away in the direction of Plymouth.

"We are well out of that mess," Colonel Campbell remarked with evident relief. "Now let us hurry to the protection of the fleet at Boston."

The transports stood up for Nantasket Road but a shore battery opening up on them caused them to bear away quickly on the larboard tack. The officers were plainly puzzled.

"There's something queer about this," remarked Menzies. "We surely should have aroused some support by this time. But we haven't seen a British flag. I begin to doubt if we have any friends in Boston."

"I think you are right, Major," agreed the colonel. "Captain Bog, we had better about face and pull out of here before we get caught."

"Colonel, I wish we could," the commander replied, "but we cannot do it. The wind has died away and the flood tide is only half expended. Let us anchor off Georges Island until the tide turns."

"So be it, if we must," was the reluctant reply.

Darkness had fallen and the *Defence* felt its way carefully into Nantasket Road. The crew moved quietly about preparing for action. Battle lanterns were hung between decks, powder was brought up from the magazine, fire buckets were filled, the deck

was well sanded to prevent blood from making it slippery.

The British were apparently unaware of the close proximity of the *Defence*. With three of the smaller vessels following, Harding ran abreast of and about fifteen rods distant from the ship, dropped his anchor and hailed.

"Ship ahoy! Where are you from?"

"From Great Britain," came back across the water.

"Then strike your colors to America!" shouted Captain Harding.

"What brig is that?"

"The *Defence*, Connecticut man-of-war. I don't want to kill your men but I am going to have that ship. Will you strike?"

"Yes, I'll strike!" cried an officer as the ship delivered a terrific broadside at the *Defence*.

"Fire!" cried Captain Harding. The deck of the brig quivered, a sheet of flame shot out from the side of the ship, the roar was deafening. The rattle of musketry added to the din. The enemy's decks were much higher and his shots were consequently higher, doing no damage to the hull or decks of the *Defence* but cutting holes in sails and spars, whereas the Connecticut ship poured its fire into the crowded decks of the transport, inflicting many casualties.

The guns were being fired as rapidly as they could be loaded, and with telling effect since the range was point-blank and the target a large one. The *George's* fire continued harmlessly to pierce the rigging while

the enemy brig, being lower in the water, drove some well-placed shots into the *Defence's* hull.

But the *George* was plainly getting the worst of it and after an hour and a half of fighting struck her colors, this act being promptly emulated by the *Annabella*. The firing immediately ceased and Captain Harding was rowed over to the ship to take possession. The capture proved to be of the utmost importance as there was a large stock of valuable military stores in addition to the two hundred and ten soldiers of the 71st Highlanders commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and Major Menzies, the latter having been killed during the engagement.*

The wounded prisoners were put under the care of their own surgeons; those unwounded were confined below, while prize crews were put aboard. The *George* was headed for Boston, but the *Annabella* had run aground and could not be moved.

Captain Harding addressed himself to Colonel Campbell. "How did it happen that you permitted us to come right alongside without as much as a challenge?"

"I am sorry to admit," Colonel Campbell spoke with some hesitation, "that the crew refused to fight

* Early historians set the date of this engagement as June 17, 1776. Colonel Campbell himself mentions this date in reporting his capture to General Howe. This date was accepted by Cooper, I, 114; Emmons, 133; Spears, I, 203; Abbot, 66; Maclay, I, 48. Middlebrook, II, 279, gives June 20. Allen, I, 80, gives the correct date, June 16. The fight started about 11 p.m., June 16, and lasted approximately an hour and a half.

any more, and there was a tense argument going on as your ship approached. But my Highlanders," he continued proudly, "kicked the crew below and stood to the guns. They would be fighting yet if we had not expended every shot of our artillery."

"You command a brave battalion, Colonel Campbell," Harding replied, "and I am proud to be in the position of your—er—host."

"Do not blame the sailors too severely," the colonel spoke apologetically; "they have had a hard cruise, fighting the weather all the way. Eight ships left Scotland together but the gales have scattered them sadly. Only half of them approached America in sight of us."

Harding nodded and appeared to take no further interest in the matter and after a few more remarks was rowed back to the *Defence*. Reaching the deck his unconcernedness gave way to activity.

"Mr. Burnam," he called, "get up your anchor and prepare to pull out at once. I believe there may be other transports coming up the bay and we want them."

Shortly after daybreak the *Defence* was joined by the four small schooners, to whom Harding imparted his information, and together they sailed down the bay. Before the following noon they sighted a sail and in the light wind gradually drifted within hailing distance.

"Ship ahoy! What ship is that?" Captain Harding challenged through his trumpet.

"His Majesty's ship *Lord Howe*," was the response, "Who are you?"

"American man-of-war *Defence*. Will you send an officer aboard, please?"

"Why, you arrogant rebels!" was the retort. "Come aboard here and apologize if you know what's good for you."

"Steady there," shouted Harding. "We can blow you out of the water and you know it. This is your last chance." He turned to his acting chief officer: "Mr. Burnam, have the gunners light their matches. On board the *Lord Howe*!" Harding resumed his trumpet as the ships were rapidly increasing their distance from each other; "I'll give you two minutes to launch a boat."

The eyes of the crew were anxiously fixed on the British transport. A cry of exultation broke forth as the transport backed her topsails and with evident reluctance launched a boat.

The *Defence* swung around to await the arrival of the ship's boat, from which an officer soon came aboard and strode toward the quarter-deck.

"What is the meaning of this, sir?" the officer inquired haughtily.

"I am Captain Harding of the Connecticut Navy," with a polite and slightly exaggerated bow.

"And I am Captain Campbell of His Majesty's 71st Highlanders!"

"Campbell? Ah! Are you perhaps related to the



Map of Islands of Boston Harbor

Colonel Campbell whom I had the pleasure of meeting a day or two since?"

"What do you know of Colonel Campbell?" asked the Scot.

"We had a little altercation two nights ago," Captain Harding smiled; "but I succeeded in inducing him to accept the hospitality of Boston. I may as well tell you," he continued, "that the British have evacuated Boston and that you have no friends there who are not prisoners of the Americans. I have given you this opportunity to learn the situation as resistance is useless and there is no use shedding blood unless you insist."

"I can hardly thank you for this information," the Scots captain replied. He could not conceal his chagrin but his well-bred mind could not fail to recognize the gentlemanly forbearance of his captor. "But there is nothing for me to do but strike our colors. May I return to my ship?"

Captain Harding bowed courteously as Captain Campbell was escorted to his boat. A few minutes later cheers exploded from the four schooners as the British ensign was hauled down. All six vessels trimmed their sails and stood up the bay for Boston.

Landing at Long Wharf the officer prisoners were taken up King Street to General Ward's headquarters. The general's orderly book contains an order issued June 18 that

the Highland major, who was slain in the last engagement on board the ship, is to be buried this afternoon from

the State House. The Scotch officers will walk as mourners, and all the officers in town off duty are desired to walk in the procession.

The whole Campbell family seems to have served with this Highland regiment as well as others with noted Scots names. The total of four hundred and sixty-six captured included the following officers: Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell; Captains Lawrence Campbell, Maxwell, and MacKenzie; Lieutenants Campbell, Dickinson, Belnawer, Cohorne, McLane, Hugh Campbell, MacKenzie, Gordon, Frazier; Quartermaster Oglebie, Ensign Frazier, Surgeon's Mate Burnes; volunteers (with the rank of officers), Flint, McDougall, McBaine, Willson, John Campbell, Duncan Campbell, Collin MacKenzie, McTavish, Hume, Divar.

Colonel Campbell's chagrin at being captured by rebels was somewhat mollified by his courteous reception. He wrote General Howe:

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you we have experienced the utmost Civility and good treatment from the people in power at Boston, in so much Sir, that I should do injustice to the feelings of Generosity, did I not make this particular information with pleasure & Satisfaction.

He was placed on parole in the town of Reading where he lived very comfortably with his officers and servants.

But in December, 1776, Gen. Charles Lee was captured by the British and General Howe refused

the proposal of the Americans that he be exchanged for Colonel Campbell and five Hessian field officers. Howe received orders to send Lee to England, there to be tried as a deserter from the British Army, but unfortunately for the future welfare of the patriot cause he ignored these instructions and kept Lee in New York.

Reports reached the Americans that Lee was being maltreated and Congress threatened retaliation. Receiving no favorable assurances Congress resolved "to order the five Hessian field officers and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell into safe and close custody." Campbell's parole was revoked and he was committed to the jail in Concord, a distressing situation for the prisoner of highest rank then in American hands.

His situation and condition are described in his letter to General Washington of February 4, 1777:

I AM lodged in a dungeon of about 12 or 13 feet square . . . black with the grease and litter of successive criminals. . . . Two doors doubly planked & locked, shut me from the prisoners yard, and the Goaler has rec'd express orders against my going into it, even for the necessary calls of nature, and an hole near the middle of these doors serves either to admit my victuals, or gratify the gaping curiosity of spectators. . . . I was actually plundered of half my private property; the very necessary articles of living, by the Continental Agent Capt. Bradford of Boston, who has since (as I am informed) seiz'd upon and disposed of for the dirty consideration of Gain, the very side arms

of my officers, to whom they had been restored by the captors after the action . . .

In spite of the stubborn attitude of Congress Washington was able to effect some amelioration of Campbell's condition particularly after receipt of a letter from Lee assuring Congress that he was being well treated in New York. Campbell was again admitted to parole in November, 1777, and finally, in May of the next year, was exchanged for Col. Ethan Allen.

Allen had received none too kindly treatment by the ministerial troops, having been placed in irons following his capture at Montreal and sent to England to be tried for treason. But the British were the distinct gainers by the exchange—Allen took no further active part in the war, while Campbell distinguished himself the following spring by that brilliant leadership which quickly brought Savannah and virtually the whole state of Georgia under British control. Subsequently he became governor of the island of Jamaica.

Capt. John Thompson, commander of the *Lord Howe*, received no such harsh treatment. He was carried as a prisoner to Lebanon where he was paroled under the kindly aegis of Governor Trumbull and was exchanged in July, 1778. The exchange of the officers of junior rank was more easily and promptly effected.

Harding, because of illness, remained on shore in

Boston, at the house of John Bradford, navy agent for Massachusetts Bay. In fact Harding suffered a good deal from illness during his service in the Revolution, and from the effects of the wound he had previously received. At this time he was bled in the surgical fashion of the day, which probably did not improve his strength. He was able, however, to report the engagement to Governor Trumbull and submit to him an inventory of the captured goods. It included a large stock of small arms, knapsacks, tents, clothing, and blankets, all invaluable to the army at New York under General Washington, to whom they were sent. The prize money was eventually allotted and paid to the Continental agent for distribution, but the agent became insolvent while still in possession of these funds and not a penny therefrom ever found its way to the officers and crew of the *Defence*.

Samuel Eliot, who succeeded Bradford as agent in Boston, reported to Governor Trumbull December 20, 1777, "Capt. Bradford has never handed me an account of the disposals of the three Scotch Transports taken by Capt. Harding."

III

On the High Seas

VICE-ADMIRAL Molyneux Shuldham, at this time Commander-in-Chief of the British ships in North America, has been severely criticized for failure to provide adequate means to warn all incoming vessels of the evacuation of Boston. But the records indicate that all due precautions were taken. Admiral Shuldham departed from Nantasket Road on March 27 conveying the troops under General Howe to Halifax where they arrived on April 2. He had previously detached a squadron under Captain Banks of the *Renown* with instructions to employ his ships in "Cruizing before this Port and in the track of all such Vessels, as may be bound here with Supplies, and to see them in safety to Halifax . . ."

The *Renown*, *Niger*, *Milford*, and *Hope* cruised about Boston Bay; the *Swan* and *Bolton* scouted off St. Georges Banks; the *Centurion* and *Fowey* reported to Captain Banks after accompanying the transports to Halifax; the *Cerberus* was cruising between Martha's Vineyard and the east end of Long Island. Surely this force was sufficient to intercept any transports, and sufficient to defeat any Continental vessels in the neighborhood.

The *Cerberus* recaptured one transport which had been taken by Capt. Nicholas Biddle in the *Andrea Doria* off Newfoundland and separated from him in a storm. Captain Biddle made a second capture, the transport *Oxford* with two hundred Highlanders aboard, which was also separated from him by the same storm. The prisoners overpowered the small prize crew and headed for Hampton Roads expecting to find that haven in friendly hands. But Captain Barron of the Virginia navy dashed their hopes and landed them in a prison pen.

Seven transports did arrive and anchored under Banks' protection in Nantasket Road. On June 13 Washington decided that their presence was unnecessary and had breastworks thrown up on the neighboring islands and at Point Allerton, arming them with two eighteen pounders, a thirteen-inch mortar and field pieces. The following morning the Americans opened up on the fleet and a spirited exchange ensued. Banks found his position untenable and signaled his ships to get under way. Had Banks been driven out at an earlier date some of these transports might have been captured.

The elements coöperated with the colonists and drove the British ships out to sea. Harding had slipped in to Plymouth while Banks was at his anchorage and the three Highland transports had fallen into the ambush while the British cruisers were at sea. Now the squadron was again hovering about the bay evidently searching for the missing ships. Har-

ding had been so successful that he decided to sail down the bay and try his luck at another transport, but the convoy proved too strong for him and he therefore returned to Boston. The British vessels gave up the search and disappeared in the direction of Halifax thus enabling the *Defence* to clear from Boston on July 8 for her home port.

On the fourteenth the *Defence* sailed triumphantly up New London Harbor. Officers and crew were in high spirits. A little friction had developed between two officers, the cause of which has been forgotten, but the result was so happy as to admit recording.

NEWPORT, JULY 13TH, 1776.

THE trial Brot. Before us Lieut. Eben^r Bartram, President, Josiah Burnham Esqr. Lieut Joseph Squires Esqr. Assistant Judges, Hearing their Case fully Tried & Debated Come to the unanimous Resolution that is to say Between Lieut. Sam^l Smedley & Dr. Gideon Wells . . .

First unanimously it Does not Apper that Dr. Wells Intend^d anything Hurtfull to Lieut Smedley

2d Unanimously it Does not appear that Lieut Smedley intend^d any hurt to Dr. Wells—

3d Unanimously it Does Appear that Both parties Intend^d it only as a Rhomance . . .

4th unanimously it Does Appear that Dr. Wells applied to Y^e Captn to have Lieut Smedley Broke for so Trifleing a thing as Rhomance.

5th unanimously this Court is of Oppinnion that Dr. Wells Offer^d not Only an Insult to the Commission^d Officers But to all Y^e Officers on Board—

6th Unanimously this Court has come to Y^e following Resolution that Dr. Wells is to ask Lieut. Smedley' pardon & Dr. Wells To sign the Above Sentence of Court. Now for Y^e future all Buri^d in Oblivion & never to be mention^d more

GIDEON WELLS SURG^N

EBENEZ^R NICHOLSON SECRETY

Now for the future all buried in oblivion and never to be mentioned more! Would that difficulties and misunderstandings could always be disposed of so easily!

The following day Captain Harding reported to the governor and Council of Safety at Lebanon, receiving enthusiastic congratulations on the success of his cruise.

"I was very fortunate," said the captain in concluding his narration, "in the circumstances under which these captures were made. Had I been called upon to put the speed of the *Defence* to the test I should not have fared so well. She is a very dull sailer. She may be all right for a harbor guard ship but she is too slow for successful work on the high seas."

The Council appointed a committee to investigate the condition of the *Defence* and to inspect a Bermudian-built sloop, the *Endeavor* then lying off New London. The *Endeavor* had been commandeered by Commodore Hopkins at New Providence to carry back part of the plunder which could not all be stowed away on the war vessels under his command.

He promised to give the ship back to its owner and Congress validated this promise by a vote on July 12. This obligation was in effect discharged by the purchase of the vessel by the State of Connecticut in the following month for the sum of £2,168-12-5, a settlement quite satisfactory to Charles Walker, the owner.

Harding was immediately instructed to refit the *Endeavor* as an armed brigantine, using the rigging and guns of the *Defence*. The new purchase was rechristened the *Defence* while the denuded vessel, now the *Old Defence*, was fitted up as a harbor guard ship and sank into comparative oblivion. The latter did try a cruise in January, 1778, under Capt. Daniel Deshon but was captured and carried into Jamaica.*

As soon as the repairs were completed the new *Defence* slipped down the harbor on the ebbing tide, through the Race and around Gardiner's Island and squared away for Montauk Point. September 7 a sail was reported. Harding ran down and recognized the Connecticut schooner *Spy* which had started out from New London the preceding month. Hailing Captain Niles he learned that the *Spy* had made two valuable prizes and was bound for New London short handed because of the drain of the prize crews.

* Connecticut historians have overlooked the transfer of the name *Defence* from the vessel which fought in Massachusetts Bay to the new purchase which thereafter under the Connecticut flag made several important captures. Maclay in *American Privateers*, p. 68, follows the lead of Emmons, p. 133, in sending the *Defence* to destruction in the ill-fated Penobscot expedition of 1779. This error may have been the accumulative result of crediting this ship to Massachusetts instead of Connecticut.

"The Jamaica fleet is about due to leave for England under convoy," Niles added. "You ought to be just in time to get a whack at 'em."

Harding thanked him for the information and set course accordingly. Two weeks later he sighted the fleet—two hundred sail convoyed by two men-of-war. He held off cautiously, watching his chance. The British warships parted with the fleet having apparently escorted them as far as their orders required. The *Defence* swooped down and cut out a three hundred ton schooner which proved to be the *John*, Captain Dunbar, laden with sugar, rum, coffee, and cotton. Ten days later, on October 2, the *John* in charge of a prize crew sailed up New London Harbor.*

Captain Harding, in the meanwhile, resumed his chase and on September 22 overtook the twelve-gun merchant ship *Sally*, Captain Jackson, who refused his summons to surrender. After a short engagement Jackson struck. A prize crew was put aboard and the two ships headed for New London. In the night they became separated and the *Defence* proceeded alone.

On October 3 the lookout reported two large ships on the horizon evidently headed in their direction. Harding concluded that they could be nothing but British men-of-war. He accordingly crowded

* Middlebrook, I, 48, dates this capture July 14, 1776, but the present author can find no authority to support that date.

on all sail and headed for New London, but the pursuing ships were faster. Between Block Island and Fisher's Island the frigates came within range and opened with their bowchasers. Harding replied with his stern guns and kept on his course. Perhaps sixty shots were exchanged but no material damage was inflicted on either side. The British ships were gaining but the *Defence* managed to reach the Thames and the protection of the forts. The enemy frigates passed by the harbor entrance and anchored off Goshen reef.

Disappointed at finding only one of his prizes in port, Harding feared that the second would be recaptured. But the British frigates soon departed and to his great relief and satisfaction the *Sally* came safely into New London just a week after his own arrival.

The value of these prizes is not recorded, but in December the Council of Safety voted to pay Harding £1,400. It is interesting to note that at this time one-twentieth was deducted "for the Admiral," while the crew's share was one-third. Furthermore the Connecticut Assembly, after authorizing the purchase of the cargo of the prize ship *John*, voted "that the late captain of the said prize ship *John* be presented with so much of the said ship's cargo as he can or shall procure authentic evidence of its being his own private adventure."

Congress, on October 20, 1776, voted that officers and crew in the Continental Navy be entitled to one-half the value of merchantmen, transports, and store

ships captured by them; and the whole value of men-of-war and privateers. A subsequent resolution, November 15, 1776, added, in the case of war vessels, a bounty of twenty dollars for every mounted cannon and eight dollars for every prisoner taken. Connecticut soon confirmed this action as it might affect its own navy.

Several English men-of-war were now blockading New London Harbor, making it impossible for Harding immediately to comply with the governor's instructions for another cruise.

To Capt Seth Harding Commander of the Brig *Defence*
Greeting

ON Receipt of this you will with all Possible Dispatch make Ready and Sail on a Cruise against the Enemies of this & the United States of America.

Your Most Probable Success will be in the Road of Provision & Store Ships Coming to the Enemy at New York or up the River towards Canada

You will Consult your Officers on this Matter as far as will be Proper and use your Best Discretion on Advice

Call on Mr Shaw for Provision & Necessary Stores for about two or three Months and Loose no Time in Fitting & Sailing as there is at Present a Good Prospect of Success but will soon be over

Wishing you a Prosperous Cruise a Safe Return &c

Given under my Hand in New Haven the 23^d Day of October Anno Domini 1776

JONTH TRUMBULL

But he was not idle. A ship commanded by one

Captain Kennedy came in for supplies. The captain claimed he was loaded with wheat and flaxseed for France. It was obvious that should he sail he would immediately fall into the hands of the English. Harding obtained the further information that the ship was manned by captives and prisoners taken by privateers, decided that Kennedy was a suspicious character and detained him and his ship. His report to the governor is dated at Norwich, November 17, 1776:

I think it my Indespinnible Dutey to Lay before youre Honer sum Littel maters Lately hapened at New London on acct of the wheat & flaxsead ship Capt Cannede now In the harbour of New London Last Sattuary I was Informed that their was 4 men of war Lying of the gull Islands Clost of the Harbour and a Number of Botes Cruseing back and forth 2 men of war to the Eastward of fishes Island In the mean time Capt Cannedy was geting under way to go to sea as I was Informed for the safety of these states I thought it proper to stop that Ship until the Corse should be Clear the wind was To the ENE most certain no time to go to the Eastward as that must be hur corse for france at the same time was Informed the ship was maned with men taken in Suger Ships and other prise ships and brought in to these States as to Capt Cannedy^s Intensions I Dont pretend to say if it may not be a miss I shall Indever to pint out to your Honer what I think my Duty is in the stashion I am in In the first place to stop cease all ships or Vessels bound to the Enemys of these States secontly to stop and Detain all ships going out when I am verry certain their is Danger of of their faleing into the hands of the

Lebanon Decemb^r 3th 1776

S^r the Intelligence we have this day received
of a Number of English Men of Warr and Transports
Collecting in the sound not far from New London.
and that their Intention may be ~~of~~ to push
into that harbour we therefore think it best to
Direct you timely to provide against falling
into their hands and to remove your Vessel
up as far up the river towards Norwich as you
may think proper for her safety and if some time
we must leave this matter much to your good
Discretion with such Advice as you may judge
proper on the Occasion. make also ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~advising~~ &
as appearances may be with respect to the Enemy

Yours

Your hble Servant

Jen^l Trumbull

To Capt Harding

Letter of Governor Trumbull to Captain Harding,
December 5, 1776

Enemy until their be a Covenant time for them To proceed on their Voyage thirdly to give all assistance I Can afford to any Vessel in Distress belonging to the States of america forthly to take up and Imprisen all kind of men that appear to be against the Stats of america In the meantime Dont think I am obliged to pay the Damig was I to Detane a ship 24 Hous or take up 2 men for 48 hous at the same time neither of them gilty the stasion I stand In is only a servant to these stats What Ever your Honor shall think proper and order will at all times Comply with

Harding's action was confirmed by the Council and the cargo was confiscated for public use.

The presence of the English fleet led to instructions to send public stores from New London up the river to Norwich, but the necessity was obviated by the departure of the fleet for Narragansett Bay.

Harding was still feeling the ill effects of his Boston experience and doubted his ability again to go to sea at this time. To the governor he recommended Lieutenant Smedley as an able substitute. This recommendation proved acceptable and, although the governor, in a letter dated Middletown, January 11, 1777, ordered Captain Harding on a cruise, he included ". . . and in Case your want of Health will not admit of your taking the Command in Person for this Cruise you will order Lt. Smedley to sail with the Command for the Cruise aforesaid with these orders."

The search for health was proving in vain. Harding must have been very worried over his chance of surviving when he wrote the governor on January 23,

"I have no thoughts I shall be able to proceed to Sea. I have but little Hope of ever getting my health but God only knows I have sometimes in hopes of a happy exchange, at other times Doubtful, but Hope I trust only in the Son of heaven." So Smedley assumed command and remained in command during several successful cruises until he was so unfortunate as to run on Goshen Reef in March, 1779.

Meanwhile Harding settled his accounts, collected £1000-15-6½ from the state and felt better. A new ship, the *Oliver Cromwell*, had been built and put under the command of Capt. William Coit. But Coit was very slow in bringing matters to completion. The ship had been launched at Saybrook in June, 1776, towed to New London in August, and was still unfitted in March, 1777. In addition he was troubled with a mutinous crew and dissatisfied officers. The governor relieved him, over his protest, on April 14, and gave the command to Harding. Immediately thereafter the following advertisement appeared in the *New London Gazette*:

THE SHIP OLIVER CROMWELL, *Seth Harding Esqr. Commander*, lying in the harbor of New London, is nearly ready to sail on a six months' cruise having a great part of her men engaged. Able seamen or marines will meet with great encouragement and receive pay equal to those in the Continental Service. Apply to the sign of the Golden Ball in New London (Nathan Douglass' Tavern) or on board the said ship.

The *Cromwell* was much larger than the *Defence*

and proved to be a better sailer. She was 80 feet keel, 27 feet beam, 12 feet in the hold, and mounted 20 guns. The governor with his Council of Safety came down to New London to inspect the ship and crew.

Already the reports concerning the suffering and destitution of the unfortunate patriots who had fallen into the hands of the enemy were having their effects on enlistments and the more timorous were getting more and more reluctant to risk captivity and suffering. Several residents of Norwich and New London and vicinity, including Harding, pointed out to the General Assembly that prisoners were being

Treated in the most Inhuman & Barbarous manner, many having been stripp'd of their Cloathing, Exposed to the weather, & denied a Sufficient Supply of Food for the Support of Life, under which Sufferings many of our Respectable and Worthy Friends have Lost their Lives . . .

They request the Assembly to take these facts under consideration and devise some method by which this condition may be relieved. If some method of providing food and money to prisoners could be made public the petitioners are convinced that it would be

a very great Inducement to others voluntarily to Inlist & Engage in the Cause of the Country, & our Army soon be supplied with a number of men Sufficient to Repell our Enemies . . .

On May 16 the governor ordered the *Cromwell* to sea, preceded by a scouting expedition up-sound. Harding left New London May 21, and put in to

Bedford to recruit. Having brought his complement up to 150 men he sailed on June 13 in search of prizes.

He cruised well to the eastward and on July 8, in Lat. 45, Long. 34 captured the brigantine *Honour*, John Jackson, Master, bound from Dartmouth, England, to St. Johns, Newfoundland, with a cargo of food, wines and clothing, valued at over £10,000. Midshipman Jonathan Woodworth with a prize crew brought the ship safely into New Bedford.

Harding then steered south toward the Azores. On July 19 at six in the morning a sail was sighted and the *Cromwell* immediately gave chase, overhauling her in twelve hours. Harding ran up the Continental colors and challenged. She proved to be the *Restoration*, 10 guns, bound from Quebec to Oporto. Realizing the inferiority of her armament the British ship struck her colors and Harding boarded and transferred the captured crew to his own ship. She was put under the command of Midshipman Sherman Lewis with a prize crew and ordered to Boston. Contrary winds delayed the voyage, and six weeks later, when almost in sight of port, the prize was recaptured by H.M.S. *Ambuscade* and sent into Halifax.

Continuing toward the West Indies the *Cromwell* encountered another ship and when within hailing distance Harding called out, "Ahoy, there, what ship is that and where are you from?"

"We came from White Hall," was the reply.

“Are you a king’s ship?”

The affirmative reply was drowned in a broadside as the king’s colors were raised. The *Cromwell* replied with such effect that the king’s colors were soon fluttering to the deck. The prize proved to be the *Weymouth*, 14 guns, a sloop of war in the English Navy, serving as a packet between Jamaica and London, carrying a crew of 50 men and several passengers including Capt. William Judd of H.M.S. *Antelope*.

When the prisoners were transferred to the *Cromwell* and Lieut. Timothy Parker with a prize crew put aboard the *Weymouth*, Harding found himself short of hands and crowded with captives. He therefore decided to accompany the prize to such New England port as they could best make. On the way he picked up a small sloop *Catherine* which proved to be a prize of little value. A memorandum in Harding’s handwriting written in later years lists two other ships, the *Sally and Peggy*, 12 guns, and the *Neptune*, as having been taken on this cruise, but no other record of these captures having been discovered, it is inferred that they were recaptured.

The *Cromwell* and *Weymouth* made port at the mouth of the Kennebec River on September 4. Attempts to get in farther south had apparently been frustrated by the British war vessels which at this time were in large numbers patrolling the coast. Because of this danger Harding sent his prisoners overland in charge of his marine officer, Lieutenant Day,

to John Langdon, Naval Agent at Portsmouth. He himself was again taken with "a dangerous fit of sickness" and was obliged to remain on shore, sending his second officer Lieut. John Chapman in command of the *Cromwell* while Lieutenant Parker retained command of the *Weymouth*. These ships reached Boston safely on September 10.

Before the end of the month Harding was back in Norwich where he received orders from the governor and Council of Safety relative to the discharge of so many of the crew as would not be needed to refit his ship. These orders he transmitted to Lieutenant Parker then in command of the *Cromwell* at Boston, as he was still too ill for active service. The Council also directed him to have the prisoners sent to Connecticut. In transmitting these instructions he directed Lieutenant Parker "to order the Prisoners as is Inclosed to you Except the Negroes, keep on board at present and keep them at work." Negroes were evidently considered as captured goods rather than prisoners of war.

Captain Judd and Captain Flynn of the *Weymouth* proceeded on parole to Lebanon and the crews were taken to Norwich where they were confined in the "goal." They placed an unusual tax on the capacity of the jail and fared very poorly in consequence.

Harding had returned to Boston and was indefatigable in forwarding the work of refitting the *Cromwell*, but his will was unable to overcome the

Norwich 26th Sept 1777

^{26th} you are hereby Directed to Discharge all the men
to about thirty or as many as you shall Judge
best in order to Assist and Regulate the Obedt. Cromwell
for a Cruise advise with Mr Chapman on the Occasions
(and to be Carried into Execution without delay.-----
Likewise you are hereby Directed to order the Prisoners
as is Inclosed to you Except the Negroes, keep on board
at present and keep them at Work -----
Especially to be at Boston the Latter End of Next
week without fail if health will permitt -----

By order of his Excellency
Jonathan Trumbull Esq.

I am Sir your Obedt^h Servt.

J. H. Harding

L. Timothy Parker Gent^l on board Ship Maynard.

Letter of Captain Harding to Lieut. Timothy Parker,
September 26, 1777

weakness of the flesh and he was obliged to return to Connecticut. Even the vote of the Council to settle his accounts failed this time to bring improvement.

The lieutenants of the *Cromwell* were thereupon all promoted one grade, Timothy Parker assuming command. In the following year and a half he made several important captures, lost all his masts in a West Indian hurricane, refitted and took more prizes, but was finally captured by a superior force of the enemy.

In October, thirty seamen taken in the *Weymouth* together with fifteen other prisoners were started from New London under a flag of truce to be exchanged at New York. The idea did not appeal to them as it meant a change from their not unbearable situation as prisoners to certain impressment in the British Navy.

Within a few hours of leaving New London Harbor they overpowered the captain and crew of the cartel ship, robbed her of her provisions and ran her ashore at Crane Neck on Long Island. The approach of the British ship *Scorpion* interrupted the proceedings but thirty-seven managed to escape. The remainder were taken aboard the *Scorpion* and the cartel ship was sent back to New London.

The loss of the prisoners was a matter of deep regret in that it represented an equal number of American prisoners who would thereby fail to secure freedom. Greater pains were thereafter taken to prevent a repetition of such a catastrophe and late in Decem-

ber the governor ordered Harding to command a cartel ship. The certificate issued was to the effect that

Seth Harding Esq. of Norwich in said State is to be permitted to pass and repass to the City of New York . . . under a Flag of Truce, having on board William Judd, Esq. Captain of the *Antelope* Man of War, and Other Officers and Seamen of the British Navy, Prisoners of War. Which sd Prisoners He is to Exchange for Officers and Seamen of the United States or this State's service, now Prisoners of War in N. York, According to their Ranks. In case Such Exchange is not effected, either in whole or in part, Such Officers and Seamen who shall not be exchang'd shall be return'd to their respective Places of Confinement within this State.

This cartel sailed early in January, 1778, and without mishap accomplished its mission.

IV

Commands Confederacy

Lebanon, 2d April 1778

GENTLEMEN:

I TAKE the liberty of addressing you at this time in commendation of Capt. Seth Harding of this State not of myself only, but at the desire of my Council of Safety. This gentleman has from the commencement of the War been employed in the service of this State as Commander of an armed vessel, in which character he has distinguished himself on several occasions, principally in the Spring of 1776 in Boston. This action was particularly gallant and has seldom been equalled nor perhaps has any one man during the war, with so small a command as a Brig of 16 guns, taken such a number of prisoners as he did on that day only. Want of health has prevented him during the winter past, from active life, by which means, the command of two ships owned by this State has devolved to his former Lieutenants.

He is now recovered, and I would propose him to your Hon^{bl} Board to be appointed to the command of the Frigate now building at Norwich which is so far as to require the speedy appointment of a Captain. As much merit and service may be pleaded in favour of Captain Harding as of any gentleman, and there is no one who can man the ship more expeditiously than him, from the opinion which the seamen in general entertain of him. I would likewise

mention that of the many appointments in the Navy hitherto, this State has never nominated one.

I am, your Hum^{bl} Serv^t

JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Hon^{bl} Navy Board of the U. S. Yorktown.

That was a good send-off, but the honorable board very politely but none the less firmly told the governor that it was none of his business.

April 20th, 1778

SIR

WE have the honor of acknowledging your Letter of the 2d inst. and very unhappy in not being able to comply with the request of your Excellency and your Council of safety. The gallant conduct of Captain Harding intitles him to notice, but when you Sir, and your Council of safety consider that by the destruction and Capture of several of our frigates their Captains are thrown out of actual service, . . .

It is true that several captains were out of a job, as the toll of ships venturing out against a vastly superior enemy had been heavy. The *Congress* and *Montgomery* had been destroyed in the North River to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, the *Lexington* had been captured off the coast of France, the *Cabot* abandoned off Nova Scotia, the *Hancock* had struck her colors to an overwhelming force off Sandy Hook, the *Delaware*, attacking the British batteries at Philadelphia, had run aground, the *Andrea Doria* and several smaller ships had been blown up when the British occupied Philadelphia; the *Ran-*

dolph had just blown up in action with H.M.S. *Yarmouth*, the *Columbus* driven ashore at Point Judith by a British Squadron, Capt. James Nicholson of the *Virginia* had just abandoned his ship and crew to the British in Chesapeake Bay and had then had the assurance to come out to the British frigate under a flag of truce and ask for his personal belongings, the *Alfred* had just been captured on a return voyage from France in spite of the heroic efforts of Captain Hinman who is mentioned farther on in the letter.

. . . their Captains are thrown out of actual service, you will easily perceive that it would be doing not only injustice to those officers some of whom at least are very valuable, but to the Continent to pass by them, and appoint to the command of the frigate at Norwich any Gentleman who hath not had a Command in the Continental Navy let his merit be ever so grate. It would particularly disapoint the expectations of Captain Hinman . . .

Hinman, less than two months before, had been carried as a prisoner to England, had promptly escaped, and was now with commendable zeal applying for a new assignment.

. . . who hath wrote to us on the subject should we honor Captain Harding with the Command of that frigate. Indeed it is not with us to appoint it is our duty only to nominate and recommend.

And now comes the gist of the letter.

WE beg leave to answer the last paragraph in your Excel-

lencys letter to observe, that it is not the practice of States to recommend Navy Officers, and that Captain Saltonstal was nominated to Congress by the Marine Committee in consequence of recommendations from the Delegates of your States . . .

It is suspected "your States" is intended to mean the four New England States. Saltonstall was Silas Deane's brother-in-law.

. . . We are with great respect yr. Excellencys

Most obed servants

With its problems of constructing a navy and replacing lost ships with no funds, and settling controversies and jealousies among officers, the Navy Board had plenty of hard work but still had some time for play. John Adams writes in his autobiography:

. . . the pleasantest part of my labors for the four years I spent in Congress from 1774 to 1778, was in this naval committee. Mr. Lee, Mr. Gadsden, were sensible men, and very cheerful, but Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island, above seventy years of age, kept us all alive. Upon business, his experience and judgment were very useful. But when the business of the evening was over, he kept us in conversation till eleven and sometimes twelve o'clock. His custom was to drink nothing all day, nor till eight o'clock in the evening, and then his beverage was Jamaica spirit and water. It gave him wit, humor, anecdotes, science, and learning. He had read Greek, Roman, and British history, and was familiar with English poetry, particularly Pope, Thomson, and Milton, and the flow of his soul made all his reading

our own, and seemed to bring to recollection in all of us, all we had ever read. I could neither eat nor drink in those days. The other gentlemen were very temperate. Hopkins never drank to excess, but all he drank was immediately not only converted into wit, sense, knowledge, and good humor, but inspired us with similar qualities.

Neither Hinman nor Saltonstall was mentioned in the governor's letter but the Navy Board apparently intended to soften its reply by this reference to the two captains from Connecticut already commissioned in the Continental Navy. Samuel Huntington and Oliver Wolcott wrote Trumbull that there "had been a predetermination that Capt. Hinman should take the command of that Frigate if he arrives in Season."

Though rebuffed the governor was not willing to let the question go by default. He renewed his recommendation on the fifth of May but received no immediate response. On August 29 Harding acknowledged "your Excellency's orders to proceed to General Washington" but the purpose of the visit is not disclosed. He carried the governor's letters to Congress and probably to the Commander-in-Chief also. One may conjecture that Washington's known admiration and friendship for Brother Jonathan was called into service. One may imagine the general saying, "If you want to get anything out of Congress go down yourself and stay till you get it."

At any rate, early September found Harding on

Congress' doorstep using both tongue and pen. The members of the Marine Committee were not all favorably disposed, because they were still trying to place some of the captains not yet refurnished with commands. Harding wrote President Laurens on September 24 that he hadn't a thing to do in Philadelphia and was ready to leave the minute he received his commission. The following day this letter was read to Congress, strongly supported by Trumbull's arguments presented by the Connecticut delegates, Sherman, Hosmer, and Andrew Adams, to whom the governor had written, "Capt. Harding will now attend Congress and the Committee in person . . . I wish you to exert your influence in his favor. His influence upon the seamen is singular."

Congress then invited the Marine Committee to sit down, and "Resolved that the new frigate building at Norwich, in Connecticut, and now nearly ready to be launched, be named the *Confederacy*." Congress "proceeded to the election of a captain of said frigate, *Confederacy*, and the ballots being taken Captain Seth Harding was elected."

The same day the Marine Committee advised Governor Trumbull that

the Marine Committee have been honored with your Excellency's Letters of the 2nd April & 5th of May last. The regard due to your recommendations induced the Committee* to move in Congress the appointment of Capt. Seth

* Its personnel had changed considerably since the preceding April.

Harding for the command of the Continental Ship of War building at Norwich in Connecticut. And I have the pleasure to acquaint you that he had the unanimous vote accordingly. The Ship is named *The Confederacy*.

On the following day President Laurens confirmed this action in a letter to Trumbull closing with:

THE vote for Capt. Harding was unanimous—I declared it accordingly; but I perceive the Secretary has omitted to insert it in the Act of Congress which your Honor will find within this cover. Capt. Harding is a man of more dispatch than vanity, and will not wait the necessary time which an amendment will require. I commend him.

He secured this appointment just in time. Within two weeks the Eastern Department was strongly urging the Marine Committee to give the *Confederacy* to Capt. John Barry, one of the ablest officers in the Continental Navy. Barry had just had an unsuccessful encounter with two British ships off Penobscot Bay and had been forced to run his frigate, the *Raleigh*, ashore, escaping with most of his crew to Boston.

But Harding had wasted no time in Philadelphia and was soon back in Norwich. The construction of the frigate *Confederacy* had been authorized by Congress in January "provided the season will admit of the timber being properly cut so as to effect the building—next summer." Joshua Huntington of Norwich was commissioned to supervise the job with

Jedidiah Willett as master builder. Timber, it was found, could be secured most inexpensively from the confiscated lands of those remaining loyal to the mother country. The labor problem was solved by employing Mohegan Indians. The financial burden was lightened by borrowing from Seth Harding a goodly portion of the funds he had saved out of his prize money. And so the *Confederacy*, 125 feet keel, 35 feet beam, 11 feet in the hold, and pierced for 36 guns, was launched November 8, 1778, and towed down the Thames to be rigged and recruited at New London.

But recruiting was not to prove as easy as Harding expected, nor as easy as the governor had prophesied in his letter to the Navy Board. It was difficult to overcome the allurements of privateering. The merchant—and merchants in those days were men who traded with foreign countries often owning their own ships, and not to be confused with shopkeepers—now found his regular occupation gone or at any rate too perilous to justify the risk. But at hand were all the means of engaging in a kindred occupation promising large profits albeit somewhat dangerous.

The merchant had the men and the ship and could obtain the guns. All he lacked was a privateer's commission or a letter of marque. With this commission he could send his ship to sea for the sole purpose of capturing merchant ships of the enemy country of which there were many plying between England and

Canada and West Indian ports, often with rich cargoes. The full value of the ship and cargo went to the privateer's owner who could consequently afford to pay high wages and prize money. Moreover enlistments were generally for the cruise, discipline was lax, captains were not bothered with any orders more limiting than the roving commission.

On the other hand the Continental Navy paid low wages when they were paid at all, enlistments were for longer definite periods and prize money was divided between the government and the ship's crew. Furthermore there was not the same opportunity to capture cargo ships of inferior armament since the greater part of the time at sea must be spent in searching out and fighting enemy men-of-war and in acting as dispatch vessels and convoys.

Sailors enlisted in the navy would silently leave their ships when in port if the greater personal opportunity of a privateersman presented itself.

It was too much to expect that Harding could overcome this difficulty without strenuous efforts, and it is not surprising to learn that he was obliged to send a patrol into New London to round up the delinquents. To the mind of a person trying to escape detection the patrol might readily assume the character of a press gang and probably the patrol was not always overparticular in identifying the fugitives.

One night the patrol rounded up about fifty suspects and the cry "Press gang" was raised. Some of

these were subsequently released and the remainder were made to stay where they without doubt belonged.

On the financial side affairs were not going forward. Harding complained that he could get no allowance for his officers for shore board which was costing them more than four dollars and a half a week, and that their income "unless as foremast hands is not addequate to more than one fourth of the expence." Moreover the daily pay of those employed in construction work who had enlisted for the cruise was stopped as soon as the ship slid off the ways into the stream. The Board assisted Harding in the solution of this problem by advising that a reasonable sum would be allowed for their weekly board and that "Money Advanced for the Officers must be done by Capt. Harding who is to Account with this Board before Sailing for all the money Advanced for the whole of his Ships Crew."

The public gained the impression that the junior officers, instead of being disgruntled with the powers, were sore at their commander. Hence the following advertisement published in the *New London Gazette*:

SHIP CONFEDERACY

Jan. 5, 1779

As there is a report circulating that the Commission Officers on Board the Continental Frigate *Confederacy*, Seth Harding Esq. Commander, did write by Mr. Mumford of Groton to Congress, signifying their Dissatisfaction to the said Commander, This is therefore to acquaint the Public

that such a Report is false and malicious, and the original Author void of veracity.

By Orders of Officers

G. BILL, Lt. M.

In January Governor Trumbull evolved a plan for capturing or destroying enemy-armed vessels in Long Island Sound and secured the coöperation of the Boston representatives of the Navy Board to the extent that the *Confederacy*, and the Continental frigates *Queen of France* and *Warren*, then at Boston, were to be put under his orders for a limited period to form a squadron in combination with the two state ships, *Defence* and *Oliver Cromwell*, although it was known that the *Confederacy* was not yet ready for sea. It was the intention with this squadron to attack the enemy's ships in the neighborhood of Huntington, Long Island, and to transport a force of soldiers to make a land attack should the situation develop favorably for such an enterprise.

The Eastern Department of the Navy Board had written from Boston on January 27 that these Continental ships would be put at Trumbull's disposal subject to the approval of Congress,

as we are fully persuaded your Plan is judicious, and if executed with spirit, secrecy & dispatch hath the greatest Prospect of succeeding to your most sanguine wishes.

But on the first of March the Eastern Department was obliged to send word that the Marine Committee had other business for the ships then in Boston.

IT is our business to submit to their better Judgment & superior authority. We wish you all imaginable success if you proceed tho' we have this day received such information of the force of the Enemy in your sound which if true may render the measure improper. . . .

The Marine Committee's instructions to Captain Harding are dated February 10, 1779:

You will receive and obey the orders and directions of his Excellency Governor Trumbull in a proposed expedition against the enemys Ships in the Western Sound. We expect you are victualled and equiped for a Long Cruize and if the Object the governor has in view is not accomplished in ten days after your sailing from New London, you are to hold yourself no longer bound by his Orders, and if the business is done in less than ten days you will immediately afterwards proceed to Sea and govern yourself by the following Instructions. You are to sweep in the first place this coast from the Southward of Cape May to the Bar of Charles Town, and afterwards to Cruize in such Latitudes and Longitudes which are best calculated to give the greatest aid and protection to the Trade of Delaware, Chesapeake and Charles Town, and as often as circumstances and the Safety of your Ships will admit of it, you are to enter the mouths of Delaware and Chesapeake for the purpose of destroying the small armed Vessels from New York that lurk about the Capes to the certain destruction of almost every Merchantman that sails—You are at the same time to be extremely cautious in continuing in any of these places so long as to render yourself a certain Object for the pursuit of the enemy. If in the Course of this Cruize you should meet with the *Deane* or the *Queen*

of France or both of them it is our orders, that you and they proceed on this Cruize in Company under the command of the Superior Officer to execute these Orders, and least you should be seperated by Storms or other circumstances, it would be advisable to establish such Private Signals that when the Ships meet again they may be known to each Other as friends.

The great delay expence and trouble in manning the Ships for Sea has induced this Committe to direct and Order you, to continue this Cruize as long as your Provisions and other circumstances will admit.

The superiority of the Naval force of the enemy on this Coast and the misfortunes that have heretofore happened to some of our ships, will we trust make you extremely vigilant and active—the confidence we repose in your fidelity courage and good conduct, gives us every reason to hope for a successful Cruize. Most of the Armed Vessels from New York are inferior in force to yourself, which will put in your power to aid the Trade of the Southern States by destroying many of them and thereby to render not only essential service to the Public, but to add to the honor and reputation of your own character.

You are to keep these Instructions a profound Secret and when the state of your Provisions requires, you will return into the Port of Philadelphia or some convenient one in the Bay of Cheseapeake from whence you are to give the earliest intelligence of your Arrival to this Committee.

New London was a vulnerable spot throughout the war and the citizens and militia were continually being called to arms in response to alarms. The defenses consisted chiefly of two forts, one on each side

of the harbor: Fort Trumbull, located about a mile below the town on the west bank, commanded the harbor but was virtually defenseless to land attack; Fort Griswold, surmounting the highest hill on the opposite side, was not so valuable as a defense for the harbor but was of great importance in resisting attack from the shore.

For fifty years prior to the Revolution the West Indies trade had been of continually increasing importance in New London commercial life. With a wide well-protected harbor and deep water at all tides shipmasters could enter and clear port with ease and safety. The outbreak of war found merchant vessels converted into privateers preying upon Britain's commerce, and fleeing from Britain's larger warships into this safe port. The main object of Washington's visit in April, 1776, was to inspect the land fortifications and to discuss the desirability of utilizing the harbor as the principal port of refuge and supplies for the Continental Navy. New London was one of the large thorns in the flesh of the mother country.

At this time Gen. Samuel H. Parsons had been sent to take command of the forces gathered there. In view particularly of the ease with which, two years later, Benedict Arnold penetrated to the heart of New London, it is interesting to note the report and recommendations General Parsons made to the governor February 27, 1779, of which the following are brief extracts:

FORT TRUMBULL is commanded by a range of hills in the rear and on the right, which so overlook the Fort and within so small a distance as to render it impossible to be held in its present state for one hour after the enemy have possessed the heights in the rear with artillery, . . . I am convinced of the necessity of an inclosed Work on the hill near the house now occupied by J. Miller, Esq. This place so commands Fort Trumbull that no enemy can possibly hold that Fort whilst we are in possession of the hill. This principal Work with two small circular batteries under the command of the Work, will, I think, effectually prevent the advance of the enemy through any route they might otherwise take to possess this commanding height; and these Works can be completed with much less expense than Fort Trumbull can be made defensible, and answer better purposes than that can ever be made to answer. This Fort is well calculated for a water battery and may be well maintained as such, if the other Works are made.

Scouting vessels soon reported that twenty sail had passed Hell Gate, that twenty-six sail were at anchor in Gardiner's Bay, that a sixty-four and a fifty gun ship were coming around Montauk Point into the Sound, and that Sir Henry Clinton had left New York and was mustering a large force of troops at Southampton. A descent on New London was daily expected.

In the midst of this excitement, on March 12, Harding ordered Captain Smedley of the *Defence* on a scouting expedition. As Smedley had only a skeleton crew he manned the ship with a detachment stationed at New London. After a short sail he was chased by

the enemy and to avoid capture tried to take a short cut for home. Unfortunately the ship struck on Goshen Reef, off Waterford, "where she soon oversat and bilged by which sudden position lost four or five men." Finding it impossible to save the ship Smedley secured lighters from the harbor and saved his guns and everything of value above water.

Smedley immediately asked the governor for a Court of Inquiry and Harding was ordered to take the necessary steps. It appeared that the ship at the time was in charge of a harbor pilot and Smedley was exonerated.

The full findings of the Court are not available but the statement of expenses gives some insight into the proceedings.

	March 17, 1779		
Court of Inquiry of Capt. Smedley, Dr.			
To 4 bottles of wine	£	8	9 0
To 2 other bottles		4	0 0
To 18 bowls of punch		27	0 0
To 6 dinners		4	10 0
			<hr/>
	£	44	2 0
errors excepted			

NATHAN DOUGLAS
TIMOTHY PARKER

After this pleasant interruption to the regular routine Harding got back to the strenuous work of outfitting the *Confederacy*. The Navy Board at Boston

wrote many letters to Joshua Huntington the general tenor of which was the same.

OUR Cituation is truly Despicable, We are a Board without one Single Dollar to Suport and defray the numerous Charges that unavoidably attends it. Last Evening we rec'd Letter from the Marine Committee, by the Contents of which I see no great prospect of a Speedy Supply of money. . . . It is our earnest desire you will forward Capt. Hardings Endeavors in getting his Ship to Sea as fast as possible.

Harding reported the "Sittuation of Ship *Confed-arecey*":

COMPLETELY Rigid thre Topsales bent to the yards Misen and fore Stasel bent four Six pounders mount'd on hur Quarter Deack two twelue pounders on bord thre at New London Ditto Nine at Norwich Landing thre more Ditto on the Rode the Remaind of that Sise at providence twelue of the twelue pound Carriges will be Redey to mount this weake one hundred Buts water in about Seventy Tuns ballas in Iron and Shingal* warlike Stores In grate Readiness

General Parsons wrote Huntington:

I AM anxious that the Ship should be ready immediately; Cpt. Harding's Reputation is concern'd and the public Interest Requires him to be ready in three Days, much depends on it. pray let the Duck, Guns, Stores, etc. be forwarded immediately.

Four teams with guns and stores were somewhere on the road from Providence, pumps and chains were promised from Middletown, duck from Norwich,

* Coarse round gravel.

"The Canvas Thos. Mumford Esq'r will sell or lend you"; rum from the Navy Board, "N. E. Rum is now as high as 11 Dollars. We do not chuse [One is tempted to commit the anachronism of enclosing this good old New England expression in quotation marks] to purchase at that price for use of the Board as all suppose it will be much Cheaper after a while as there is but few buyers and Great Quantities of Melasses at Markett, and more dayly Dropping in."

Harding tried to do his part by inserting the following notice in the newspaper:

THE CONTINENTAL SHIP CONFEDERACY

Seth Harding, Esq Commander

Will sail on a Cruize against the Enemies of the United States in ten Days from the date hereof.

All Officers and Seamen, who have entered for said Cruize, are hereby directed to repair immediately on Board. A few able Seamen and Landsmen are still wanted, who will have every suitable Encouragement given them on repairing on Board said ship

New London, Mar. 17, 1779.

The *Oliver Cromwell* was now ready for sea but Captain Parker was experiencing even more difficulty than was Harding. Shaw, the navy agent, wrote the governor:

IN my opinion it is impossible to get seamen to go on board. I cannot get them for my Vessell although I have promised to support their Family during their absence, and such dis-

tressed times for bread I never knew before, . . . men is very scarce and the *Confederacy* takes all that come.

General Parsons was anxious to get the expedition against Huntington, Long Island, under way. On March 21 he wrote Trumbull:

My Cruizer returned last evening & informs the Enemy are still at Southampton & the other Ports occupied by them nearly in the same force as for a month past; that they are still building Boats, that they have posted a Guard of 100 men at River Head at the Mill: that there is only a Sloop of War at Huntington, . . . Mr. Shaw has sent the *Putnam* out, and there now remains the *Confederacy* & *Oliver Cromwell* and a few small Privateers, . . . I cannot be induced to a Belief that too great a Hasard would attend the two Ships only in going up Sound & if there's only the Sloop of War to attack her; I cannot be willing to give over every part of our Enterprise after so much Pains taken & Time expended in it: tis too disgraceful & no Enterprize ever was undertaken without Danger. . . . In my opinion this is the only time to hope Success.

John Deshon, of the Navy Board at Boston, came to New London and wrote the governor on the twenty-fourth that he had met General Parsons who was off to get more definite information as to the enemy force around Huntington:

As soon as Captain Harding came to town I demanded the State and Condition of the Ship under his Command, and am sorry to find that by his return she is not one half man'd.

I have ordered him to get his complement of men and have the ship ready for the Service as soon as posable.

He went on to say that Shaw did not wish to risk his ship, the *Putnam*, on this venture but would do so if the *Confederacy* should be ready before the departure of the *Putnam* on a privateering cruise.

Deshon continued:

THERE is now at anchor of this Harbour the British Ship *Renown* of 50 guns, which sail'd from N.port a few Days past in company with a Ship of 16 guns and 27 Transports & merchantmen under their convoy, one of which, a schooner, is Brought in hear by the *Eagle* privateer of Connecticut River—the captain of the prize informs they were bound to Sag Harbour after wood, and in the late storm 14 sail of the fleet were cast on Shoar at Gardiner's Island and the oposite shoar at Long Island. . . . I am in great hopes our Privateers will give a pleasing accot of this fleet in a few Days. And was our three ships in this port properly man'd they might very reasonabley attack the *Renown*. I shall use my best endeavors to have the *Confederacy* got ready as fast as possible.

It would seem that golden opportunities were slipping by mainly because of the inability of the naval officers to secure an adequate number of seamen; or, to put it the other way around, because of the lack of patriotism on the part of the public and the opportunity for greater financial return offered by the privateer service. But it would be unfair to assign too much blame to the man on the street when the

local navy agent himself was demonstrating his ability to fill up the personnel of his privateer *Putnam* and at the same time his inability to secure recruits for the State ship and the Continental frigate.

Alarms of a British attack were multiplying, however: on March 27 New Haven reported a fleet of men-of-war and transports passing that harbor headed to the eastward; Deshon wrote Huntington on March 28:

GENERAL PARSONS had Intilligence that the Enemie may be hourly Expected to this place, Said to be 8000 Strong . . . Capt'n Harding sends for Every Necessary for the Ship, wish they may be forwarded with all dispatch posable as the Ship ought to have Everything thats Necessary for her defence . . . We are informed General Clinton is to command in person Expedition . . .

Peter Colt, Deputy Commissary of Purchases, directed Thomas Fanning, Commissary at Norwich, to deliver to Huntington such provisions belonging to the United States as he might want to fit the *Confederacy* for sea.

Deshon wrote Huntington again on April 10:

I HAVE rec'd Orders from N. B. to send the ship *Confederacy* away as soon as posable. Wish you would Spur up Capt'n Harden. Get the flowr here as soon as posable and in short do Everything that is Needfull and Necessary for getting rid of this Eye Soar.

He adds the pathetic postscript, "I have not I/ mony to help myself with." Still again he writes:

I WAS on board the Ship yesterday, and had bitter Com-

plaints made, for want of fresh beef peas beans etc. Nothing but Salt Meat and bread, no Salt. For Goodness Sake let us stir our Stumps and Get this Ship out of Sight as Soon as posable.

The Marine Committee wrote Harding on April 17, "You are immediately to proceed to Sea unless invincible necessity should prevent you," and follows this on the twenty-seventh by a letter to Deshon:

WE have reason to believe that the frigate *Confederacy* would have been ready and at sea some months ago, which not being the Case we desire you will inform yourselves immediately of the cause of her detention and as it is of great and immediate importance to the Public that she be immediately got to Sea, if in your Opinion that purpose will be more speedily effected by giving Captain Saltonstal the command of her, we desire you will do so, and immediately thereafter cause a Court of Inquiry to examine into the conduct of Captain Harding.

Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., wrote his father from Philadelphia that gossip was condemning the governor's recommendation of Harding to command the *Confederacy*, and asked to be fortified with an explanation, "tho in my opinion the best Explanation will be the sailing of the Vessell—with some spirited Efforts."

It is difficult to perceive what a Court of Inquiry could have developed to the discredit of Harding, but he naturally preferred to avoid such an annoyance and so, although still undermanned and short of provisions, he accepted this last tip and put to sea.

The attack on New London had so far failed to materialize. The British fleet went on to Newport. Later events indicated that the unusual activity of the enemy was due to the receipt of intelligence that General Parsons was at New London with four thousand men making secret preparations for a descent on Long Island, in consequence of which Clinton had hastened from New York with a flying column to meet the expected attack. It is quite possible, however, that Clinton intended to swoop down on New London but was dissuaded by knowledge of Parsons' force. Parsons, on the other hand, could never have made a successful raid on Long Island in the presence of such a strong British fleet. Thus each side was probably prevented from taking offensive action by the countermoves of the other.

The general policy and strategy of the British command were undergoing a change. At the outbreak of the rebellion Howe had been instructed by the ministry to carry a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other. Howe was a Whig and a member of parliament and had voiced the Whig sentiment in opposition to the ministerial policy of aggressive action against the colonists. His appointment by a Tory ministry to the command in America was perhaps a sop thrown to the Whigs for the purpose of lessening their opposition to the government.

Howe was a brave soldier and an able commander but either his instructions or his inclinations caused

him to stop short of pushing home his victories and quelling the rebellion. His bravery was well demonstrated at Bunker Hill; his strategy and tactical ability were shown in the Battle of Long Island and on the Brandywine. But in none of these instances did he follow up his victory with a crushing blow. After Bunker Hill and the recall of General Gage he contented himself with the social pleasures of Boston until it became too confined for comfort. After Long Island he established his court in the midst of the loyalists of New York. After the Brandywine he reveled in such luxuries as Philadelphia could offer while Burgoyne, without his coöperation on the Hudson, was obliged to surrender. Burgoyne was a Tory member of Parliament.

Now that France had declared war England had new dangers to combat, and the quasi-conciliatory policy no longer fitted the exigencies of the situation. Howe was recalled and the command given to Clinton whose Tory sentiments assured the ministry of the proper agency to carry on a ruthless and relentless war.

On September 29, 1778, the Earl of Carlisle wrote for consideration the following memorandum on the altered aspect of the American contest since the French alliance and the necessity of adopting new methods of carrying on the war.

THE French interference gives a new colour to everything that relates to the American contest. It changes it in every

point of view that it can be placed. The Question is no longer which shall get the better, Gt. Britain or America, but whether Gt. Britain shall or shall not by every means in her power endeavour to hinder her colonies from becoming an accession of strength to her natural enemies, and destroy a connection which is contrived for our ruin and might possibly effect it, unless prevented by the most vigourous exertions on our parts. America has not only had recourse to a foreign power for assistance, but with equal malice and perfidy had leagued herself with that, whose interests and inclination have & always will dispose her to seize every occasion that may be afforded her by the convulsions of other states to attempt our destruction.

Humanity, as long as a hope could be entertained that other methods of carrying on the war might be successful, rejected a system that was to force its way and be supported by the mass of private calamities. Policy, that would not today suffer us to reduce to the extremity of distress that which tomorrow—(torn) to become a source of mutual advantage—(torn) by a union of force, could not—(torn) scheme of universal devastation. But what might formerly have been both inhuman and impolitic, may by a change of situation and revolution of affairs become neither cruel or unwise. And it is now absolutely necessary if America will run into the arms of France to rend her as wretched and as miserable as we can, and incapable of affording that assistance to your foes, which she by the contemptuous rejection of the most liberal offers that were ever made by one Country to another, refused to you. We must do what every individual would do in a similar case, burn the ship rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy who would immediately turn her guns against you.

If this dreadful system should be found necessary by the obstinacy of America to adopt to the great extent which our armies and fleets can carry it, there can be no doubt but that these colonies can be so reduced and exhausted, that before France will be able to derive any material assistance from them, she will be obliged to nourish & restore them at a very great expence. Their wounds will be long in healing, and France will get in the mean time little by her connection but a bond to be paid when their health permit them again to labour, or when like invalids they are discharged from the hospital.

I submit to you whether it will not be proper to urge as strongly as possible the disappointments America will undergo thro this new connection— The difficulties she will be under to keep down the interest of the debt she in all probability owes to France. The equivalent that will be demanded of her in default of payment perhaps a province!!! The opportunity she will give to the introduction of popish religion— The power the French cabinet will have in directing and restraining her commerce!!

On one side the medal a war of havock and devastation, on the other slavery and illtreatment from their new masters. If this is well cast, and well circulated, I have no doubt but it will have effect.

Clinton had fewer troops than Howe and thought it unsafe to venture in force from the few seaports then held by the British, realizing the necessity of close contact with his fleets. He knew he was perfectly safe from attack in New York and figured he could wear out the Colonials by frequent predatory raids on seacoast towns.

So at this time Clinton may have had New London as his objective, with the further hope of drawing Washington from his impregnable position at West Point and the Highlands of the Hudson to protect the seacoast towns and then forcing him to a general engagement on ground of Clinton's own choosing.

From now on the poorly defended coasts of Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, and the Carolinas are to feel the cruel and disastrous effects of British determination to crush the rebellion, or in event of failure to secure that objective, then to devastate the land with fire and sword. British policy from now on, as expressed by the Earl of Carlisle, may be summed up in the words, "If we cannot hold America for ourselves any one else is welcome to the ashes and corpses we will leave behind."

Washington could not scatter his weak forces in an attempt to protect these exposed seaports but he probably saved New London this year from destruction by his countermoves on the Hudson. Clinton was obliged to quit burning Connecticut towns before getting as far east as New London when he received news that Anthony Wayne's brilliant bayonets had captured the entire garrison of Stony Point.

Impressment of Seamen

The orders under which Harding sailed were to be opened on the high seas:

You are directed to open this Letter when you are clear of Montough point. We now desire that you will proceed with all expedition to the Capes of Delaware which you are to enter and advise us immediately of your arrival there, when we will send you fresh Orders. When you get within sight of the light House of Cape Henlopen you will hoist a Pennant at your fore top masthead and a Jack at the main top masthead in order that you may [be] known from the Shore when they will send you a Pilot. When you get into the road opposite Lewis Town send your boat a Shore to that place with a Letter to Mr. Henry Fisher and direct him to forward your despatches to this committee with all possible haste.

You will remain in the road until you receive our Orders unless some good reasons should induce you to run higher up the Bay, or you may have Opportunitys of taking some of the enemies Privateers which may appear in that time about the Capes.

Harding has left no record of this particular cruise. A later newspaper report credits him with being one of the captors with the *Warren*, *Queen of France*, and *Ranger* of His Majesty's Ship *Jason*, Captain Porterfield, and seven vessels carrying stores from

New York for the British troops in South Carolina and Georgia. Orders of the Marine Committee indicate that the *Confederacy* was to accompany these ships but the *Warren*, *Queen of France*, and *Ranger* left Boston in the latter part of March or early in April and captured the British convoy prior to the date on which Harding presumably sailed from New London. It is probable that the time at sea was occupied in training his new crew in seamanship and in battle.

On June 2 having passed the Delaware Capes Harding received a copy of the Marine Committee's instructions to Capt. Samuel Tucker of the *Boston* and directions to join him in a short cruise. "As you are the junior Officer you are to consider yourself as bound to Obey Orders of Captain Tucker during this Cruize."

The instructions in general were to cruise between latitudes 35° and 40° and take, burn, sink, or destroy as many enemy ships as possible. In particular they were to meet and protect a fleet of merchant vessels bound from the West Indies to Philadelphia or the Chesapeake. The Pennsylvania ship *General Greene*, Captain Montgomery, was ordered by President Reed of that state to report to Tucker for the cruise. In the following week the frigate *Deane*, Captain Nicholson, recently returned from the West Indies, was sent out to join the squadron.

Within two days the merchant fleet was sighted

and it was discovered that two British frigates were in close pursuit. Commodore Tucker signaled the *Confederacy* to attack one while he would attack the other. The two Continental frigates cleared for action while passing the merchant fleet and bore down on the two Britishers. The latter soon perceived the superiority of their antagonists, gave up the chase and fled. Tucker signaled not to pursue as he did not dare leave the merchant vessels unprotected. These vessels were then convoyed safely inside the Capes.

The two frigates then resumed their cruising, and sighted a ship resembling one of their recent opponents. The *Boston*, followed by the *Confederacy*, hoisted the British colors and bore down on the stranger which later proved to be the frigate *Pole*, 24 guns, Captain Maddock. Commodore Tucker tells the story. As soon as he came within speaking distance the British captain hailed him:

"What ship is that?"

"Captain Gordon's," said Tucker, naming the commander of a British frigate modeled much like the *Boston*.

"Where are you from?"

"From New York," Tucker replied.

"When did you leave?"

"About four days ago. I am after the *Boston* frigate to take the rebel Tucker."

"Have you seen him?" asked the British captain.

"Well, I have heard of him," was the response. "They say he is a hard customer."

Tucker was maneuvering into a raking position when someone on the British ship recognized him and gave the alarm. The American colors were immediately hoisted on the *Boston* and *Confederacy* and Tucker bellowed a summons to surrender. Captain Maddock was caught at such a disadvantage that he had no alternative but to strike his colors. Not a shot had been fired.

Harding's later story of this encounter is comprised of the statement: "In company of the *Boston* captor'd a priviter of 24 guns, upward of 100 men on board."

The same day, June 6, two smaller vessels were captured; the six-gun schooner *Patsey*, Captain Publey, from St. Kitts for New York, and the sloop *William*, Capt. Simeon Ashbourne, from Tortola for New York. The three prizes were convoyed into port by the *Confederacy*. James Lovell, at this time a delegate to Congress from Massachusetts wrote John Adams on June 13, ". . . Tucker has sent in a twenty-four gun ship this afternoon, which did not fire a shot at him before striking. It is at the capes with the *Confederacy*, one of the finest frigates in any service, as is said by voyagers."

Enemy privateers were at this time very active in Chesapeake Bay pillaging tidewater plantations. Virginia was favored with a long indented coast line invaluable for small shipping in peace times, but indefensible from sea raids in time of war. A British fleet under Admiral Collier, accompanied by four

small privateers under the control of a Tory, John Goodrich, had recently entered the bay and destroyed much small shipping. Collier then sailed back to New York, leaving two king's vessels: the *Otter*, 16, and *Harlem*, 12; and Goodrich's privateers: *Dunmore*, *Hammond*, *Lord North*, and *Fin Castle*; with orders to burn and destroy everything in sight.

Goodrich was a notorious character in the partisan warfare of Virginia. In the early part of the conflict he pretended to sympathize with the cause of independence and participated in the councils of the Revolutionaries. Information thus gained was carried to Lord Dunmore in his ship off Norfolk. The majority of loyalists fled with Dunmore and the Americans were none too gentle in their treatment of those who staid behind. Goodrich's house was burned and his belongings confiscated. He was embittered twofold from the knowledge that the British officers could hardly stomach him because of his double dealings. With his small fleet of privateers he wreaked his vengeance up and down the coast of Virginia.

Richard Henry Lee had just returned to his home at Chantilly, Va., after leading the militia against the foragers, and wrote Samuel Adams on June 18:

THEY landed 60 men where there was no force collected to oppose them, and burnt the Warehouses on Wicomico river . . . and three private houses, carrying off a Gentleman from one of them with several Slaves from the neighborhood . . . these freebooters fly quickly with their

canvas wings from one undefended place to another, burn what they find and retire before a force can be collected to chastise them. Two frigates . . . could destroy this whole collection of Banditti. . . .

And on the nineteenth:

WERE the Confederacy disengaged she alone would demolish this whole band of pirates.

And again on the twentieth:

GUTRIDGES Gang are again burning houses and plundering at the mouth of Rappahanock river.

Lee, as chairman of the Marine Committee, had gained considerable experience in naval matters and felt that the navy should be kept alert and efficient by a vigorous and continuous application of its powers. "It is indispensable that seamen should be well provided with those things that are necessary for their situation and employment. Constant work is as necessary as grog and grog to them is the sine qua non of action and existence . . ."

Thomas Jefferson, just elected governor of Virginia, wrote to the president of Congress, "Our trade has never been so distressed since the time of Lord Dunmore as it is at present by a parcel of trifling privateers under the countenance of two or three larger vessels who keep our little naval force from doing anything."

William Whipple was then acting as chairman of the Marine Committee. He immediately ordered the

Deane and *Boston* into Chesapeake Bay. A few days later, having received intelligence that a strong enemy force was cruising off the Capes, he ordered the *Confederacy* to reinforce them. Accounts of this expedition do not seem to have been preserved. But that it had a salutary effect is evidenced by Lee's letter to Whipple dated August 8, 1779, "We are much obliged to the Marine Committee for their attention, I see the frigates have taken and sent in two prizes, vessels of war."

In the summer of 1779 excitement had risen to a high pitch over the barbarous treatment accorded by Admiral Collier to naval prisoners and particularly to Capt. Gustavus Conyngham, captured in the privateer *Revenge* in the preceding April. Conyngham had been treated as a pirate and sent to England in chains. Continental naval officers, including Harding, and other masters of vessels signed a petition to Congress dated Philadelphia, July 14, 1779, asking that body to take some action for the relief of Conyngham in the way of threatening retaliation on British prisoners of equal rank. Personal interest as well as sympathy for the unfortunate prisoner prompted this petition. "We are the more urgent in this request as many of us (being Masters of Vessels) may probably fall into the hands of the enemy, and are apprehensive if a just line of retaliation is not agreed upon, of suffering the same harsh and ignominious treatment."

Congress immediately took action and presented the situation to the British Admiral who refused "to

answer demands when they are made in an uncivil way." Conyngham made two unsuccessful attempts to escape from Mill Prison at Plymouth but the third time he succeeded. Unfortunately the ship on which he was returning to America was captured and he found himself back at Mill Prison, eventually to be exchanged in June, 1781.

Harding was soon again at sea with particular instructions to pick up and convoy into port the Continental brigantine *Eagle* from St. Eustatius laden with a valuable cargo of public stores. This mission was successfully accomplished,—but the *Eagle* was not so fortunate on her next trip. Shortly after leaving St. Eustatius the *Eagle* was chased by several British warships and ran under cover of the Dutch island Saba. The British, ignoring the neutrality of the Dutch port, ran into the harbor, boarded the *Eagle* and towed her out to sea amid an exchange of broadsides with the island fort. The contempt shown by the British Navy for the rights of neutrals is well illustrated by the report of the *Eagle's* commander, made upon his return to Philadelphia, November 13, 1779:

JOHN ASHMEAD, Master of the Continental Packet Brig *Eagle*, aged Forty one Years, and made Oath on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, That on Tuesday the Twenty sixth day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred, and Seventy nine, He sailed from the Capes of Delaware, bound to the Island of St^t Eustatia, and on Saturday November the Thirteenth following at Day Light in the Morning, the Island of St^t Eustatia then bearing about South

East, distant Three Leagues, He discover'd a Ship in the North East Quarter about Three Leagues distant, and a Brig, and Schooner directly between him and the Road of 'Statia, who soon after answering each others Signals, he discover'd them to be Cruisers, & Consorts, all making what sail they could for Him, and having the Wind about East South East, so that he could not Lay up for the Road of 'Statia, neither could he get the Brig upon a Wind either way, which was the best of her Sailing, to clear the Enemy, He was obliged with the advice of his Officers, to put before it, and endeavour to get into Saba Road, which bore about West, distant Four or Five Leagues, this they effected between the Hours of Ten, and Eleven A.M. the wind having been Light all the Morning—That as soon as he anchored the Hon^{ble} Thomas Dinzey Esquire, Governor of Saba, who on hearing the Running fire the Ship had made on them, for about an Hour before they got in, and had come down to the Fort, sent off a Canoo to let him know he had come down without bringing any Powder, and Requesting this Deponent would send him some on Shore, which he did, and Judges there might have been near Fifty pound, in a Bouge Barrel, this he deliver'd a person he afterwards found to be Capt Wintfield of the Burghers of Saba, who came off in the Canoo for that purpose, and immediately on his returning on shore to the Fort, a Shot was fired from the Fort ahead of of the Ship, when she hauld off. The Governor then sent a Canoo off Twice desiring this deponent to send a few Muskets, & Cartridges on Shore, which he did, delivering to Capt Wintfield who had again come off in the Boat; Nine Muskets and about Sixty Rounds of Cartridges. By this time the Brig, and Schooner had joined the Ship, and as they Lay off, and on

close to Windward, he thought it would be prudent to Lodge his Letters & Papers on Shore, and immediately went on shore, and gave his Letters, and papers to the Governor, at the same time Reporting his Vessel by her proper Name, the Brig *Eagle* from Philadelphia bound to St Eustatias but being chased into Saba desired the Governor to take his Report, and Enter her there, with the Cargo, consisting of Two hundred Barrels of Pork, Sixty Barrels of Bread, and Four Hogsheads of Tobacco, besides other Articles— This was between the Hours of Eleven, & Twelve A.M. at this Time the Ship Brig, & Schooner, bore away and stood in for the Road, when the Governor asked the deponent if he intended to defend himself if the Privateers should attempt to board his Vessel, and this deponent replied that, being at Anchor in a Neutral Port, he could not fire upon them, unless they first fired upon him, and as they were coming to Anchor, and of so much Superiour force he should trust to the Rights, and Protection of a Neutral Harbour— The Governor then told him, He would give him all the Protection in his power, And this deponent immediately went on board his Vessel, when the Privateers in a few Minutes after came to Anchor very near the *Eagle*, particularly the Brig, so nigh as that when she brought up, she carried away her Ringtail Boom, under the *Eagles* Fore Yard Arm,— Notwithstanding, he had veer'd away near Twenty Fathom of Cable, till she was close with the Rocks of the Shore, and durst not veer away any more, but sent a Towline on shore, about Eighty Fathom of which reached the Rocks, and was made fast directly under the Fort, the other End being fast to their Stern— That about Two P.M. the other Privateers came down, Two of which a Sloop, & Schooner, also, anchored near the *Eagle*, about

Five P.M. he went on shore again, and took out a Certified Coppy of his Report & Entry from the Secretary's Office, and then endeavoured to hire a Boat to send up to St Eustatia, which detained him 'till about Eight P.M. of the same day being then at the Governor's House, when the Captain of the Burghers, Wintfield who lived directly over the Fort, and heard the uproar, sent to acquaint the Governor that the British Privateers had boarded the *Eagle*, and were carrying her off soon after Two of the *Eagle's* Men, John Callahan, and James Quality, appeared at the Governor's and informed him that, Capt Saunders of the Brig *Tryall*, had veer'd away his Cable, and boarded the *Eagle*, without any previous Insult offer'd him on the part of the *Eagle*, but that Capt Saunders had told them as he boarded the *Eagle*, that if they made the least resistance he would give them no Quarter, That thereupon they the said Callahan, and Ten others Jumped overboard, and escaped by Swimming on Shore, and that Capt Saunders was in full possession of the *Eagle* whereupon the Governor fired Three Muskets at his Door as an alarm, and a number of the Burghers immediately appearing, he order'd them to repair to the Fort with the utmost expedition, and if the British Privateers did not relinquish the *Eagle* to fire upon them, and if possible compel them, upon which Capt Wintfield with a Number of the Burghers, to the amount of about Twenty, ran down to the Fort, and as Capt Wintfield informed this deponent, Hailed, & asked the British Privateers sundry times, what Hostilities they were committing, but not receiving Satisfactory answer fired upon the Brig *Tryall* Four times before this deponent got down to the Fort, when there was a great outcry heard on board the *Tryall*, and the Fort ceased firing, and in my hearing some of the Burghers

order'd them repeatedly to send their Boat on shore, which they on Board the *Tryall* answer'd in a Contemptuous Tone, ay, ay, Tomorrow Morning, but still persisted in carrying off the *Eagle* whereupon the firing was renewed from the Fort upon the Brig, & Ship, which the Brig & Ship, with a Sloop & Schooner, immediately return'd upon the Fort by Broad-sides, & loose Firing, of Round & Grape Shot, for near an Hour & a half, when the firing ceased, first on the side of the Fort for want of ammunition— When this deponent first got down to the Fort, the Enemy had not got the *Eagle* out of the Road, tho' from the best of his Judgement they were in possession of her near Three Quarters of an Hour before the Fort fired upon them, owing to his having order'd the Halliards, Toplifts &c^a unreeved and Coiled down below at first coming to Anchor, and there being but little wind, they cut her Cable & Towed her out, which they effected in about half an hour, or Three Quarters after the firing commenced from the Fort, This deponent further saith, Cap^t Wintfield informed him, that some time after the Firing began in the Fort, he order'd one, or Two of the *Eagles* Men, who had escaped by Jumping Overboard after she was Seized, to assist in working his Guns, which for want of Handspikes they were slow in firing, but this he was not privy to 'till after the firing had nearly ceased— There was no person belonging to the *Eagle* on Shore but this deponent when the Enemy boarded her— The Privateers concern'd in cutting the *Eagle* out of Saba Road, and which fired upon the Fort were— The Ship *Robust*, Cap^t Payne, carrying Eighteen Twelve pounders Cannonades, & Two Six pound Cannon, Brig *Tryall*, Cap^t Saunders, Fourteen Eighteen pound Cannonade, and Six pound Cannon, both belonging to

Bristol—, The Sloop—Capt Ball, and schooner *Fame*, Capt River belonging to Antigua, That his Brig the *Eagle*, and her Cargo, are still detained from him, and further this deponent saith not.

The *Confederacy* was now lying up Delaware Bay off Chester. The Marine Committee on September 17, 1779, directed that preparation be made to take the French minister, Gerard, and his suite to France. Harding was still undermanned and recruiting was as difficult as it had been in New London the preceding spring. His earlier success in “encouraging” enlistment by the use of a press gang seems to have recurred to his mind. He therefore gave the plan another trial and secured a few recruits in the neighborhood. Needing more he stopped merchant vessels coming up the Delaware from Delaware Bay and impressed that portion of each crew not necessary to bring its vessel into port. The climax came when Harding happened to be away from the ship leaving Lieutenant Gregory in command.

Capt. John Barry, temporarily out of an assignment in the Continental Navy, was coming up Delaware Bay in command of the Pennsylvania state brig *Delaware*. The pilot who came aboard advised him of what the *Confederacy* was doing. Many of the crew were alarmed and desired to be put ashore. But Barry addressed them:

“My lads, if you have the spirit of freemen you will not desire to go ashore nor tamely submit against your wills to be taken away, although all the force of

all the frigate's boat's crew were to attempt to exercise such a species of tyranny."

Being thus reassured and with the implied consent to resist impressment the members of the crew armed themselves with muskets, pistols, and boarding pikes, and organized under the boatswain. When the *Delaware* arrived within hailing distance Lieutenant Gregory from the quarter-deck of the *Confederacy* ordered the brig's main topsail to be hove to the mast.

"I can't do that without running ashore," Captain Barry answered.

"Then drop your anchor," cried Gregory.

Barry paid no attention but continued beating up with the flood tide. The *Confederacy* fired a gun and sent off a boat toward the *Delaware*. Barry did not interfere with the two officers who jumped aboard and ordered him to cast off the main topsail halyards; but contented himself with inquiring if they intended to take command of the vessel.

At that moment the boat's crew started to clamber aboard but the *Delaware's* boatswain threatened them with violence and they held back. The *Confederacy's* officers attempted to intimidate the boatswain, but finding their bluff of no avail jumped into the boat and returned to the frigate.

Another gun was fired from the *Confederacy* and Barry made ready to let go a broadside, hailing the frigate and asking who was in command.

"Lieutenant Gregory," was the reply.

"I advise you to desist from firing," called Barry,

"this is the brig *Delaware* belonging to Philadelphia, and my name is John Barry."

Gregory recognized that he had caught a Tartar and decided on discretion. The *Delaware* proceeded on her way to Philadelphia while Gregory squared his conscience by impressing seamen from the unarmed merchantmen who were following up the Bay.

But the matter did not stop there. President Reed of Pennsylvania complained to the Marine Committee who thereupon wrote Captain Harding that they had received information that he had lately impressed several seamen, citizens of Pennsylvania, who had left families in a distressed situation, and ordering him, if the complaint was justified, to discharge them immediately.

The committee also recommended to Congress the adoption of a resolution:

THAT no Commander of any ship or vessel of war in the service of the United States shall impress, or cause to be impressed, any person on board the same without permission first obtained from the Legislative or Executive authority of the State in which such ship or vessel may then be.

It would seem at first blush that Harding was let off very easily from paying a penalty for what in later times would be considered a serious crime, but it is probable that the practice of impressment during the Revolution was followed to a much greater extent than American historians have been willing to admit. It is hardly probable that the Marine Committee

would have considered the question of sufficient importance to justify a congressional resolution if the practice had been limited to the individual record under discussion.

Moreover the form of the resolution indicates that in the minds of the members of the committee there was nothing sinful or criminal in the act of impressment; the wrong consisted in using press-gang methods "without permission first obtained from the Legislative or Executive authority." Perhaps they recalled the offer of the Massachusetts government in the preceding January to impress seamen to fill up the complement of the *Alliance* whose commander, Captain Barry, had been unable to enlist enough men to move her out of Boston.

It is equally significant that Congress failed to vote in favor of the resolution. Congress would not take any action that might be construed as permitting any excuses for failure to serve with the colors. Patriotism among the rank and file as expressed in military service was at a low ebb. Delegates could hardly have forgotten a letter from Washington recently read in Congress in which he said:

I AM exceedingly mortified, that the circumstances of the army in respect to numbers oblige me to a mere defensive plan . . . I hope it will be remembered, that the army has been diminished by the expiration of the term of service of a number of the troops, that it is daily lessening . . . that scarcely a single man has taken the field from any of the States, except New York and Virginia. . . . I have

but little hope that the Battalions will be filled, or even made respectable, tho it is a matter infinitely interesting.

Soldiers had some excuse for avoiding protracted service. They were mostly farmers whose livelihood, as well as the livelihood of their families, depended on securing their crops. And these crops were necessary for the sustenance of Washington's army which was never oversupplied with rations. There were many loyalist farmers who were not anxious to dispose of their produce to the rebels, and there were more of wavering loyalty who preferred to exchange their foodstuffs for British gold.

So there were strong reasons why the patriot militia should periodically interrupt its military service for the peaceful pursuit of agriculture. On the other hand the sailors were largely seafaring men whose regular occupation was for the time being gone—but they preferred to desert the navy and go a-privateering.

VI

Wrecked

STILL awaiting the arrival of Minister Gerard, Harding received orders on October 17 to "receive on Board the *Confederacy* His Excellency John Jay Esquire, his Secretary, and family . . . on your passage you are to consult with him and Mr. Gerard and be governed by their Orders with respect to any occurrences which may happen and the port to which you are to proceed."

A very distinguished company sailed out of Delaware Bay on October 26: with Minister Gerard were Chevalier Roche, a knight of the Order of St. Louis, and Captain Remuy of Marseilles; with Mr. Jay, besides his secretary, Mr. Carmichael, were Mrs. Jay and her brother, Colonel Livingston, who acted as a private secretary; also Major Scull and a Mr. Williamson. Jay had just resigned as president of Congress to accept a mission to Spain.

Ten days of fair sailing had been quite enjoyable but was becoming monotonous, when at five o'clock on the morning of November 7 a crash startled passengers and crew. Harding rushed on deck to find all his masts gone and the ship rolling heavily in high winds and a rough sea. The vessel lay like a log on the water with even its bowsprit gone. The groans

of the injured sailors added to the confusion. It was unnecessary to call all hands to the deck. Everyone had rushed up at the first crash. The outlook was one of inevitable doom. The passengers prayed for divine assistance and the more pious cheerfully resigned themselves to the disposal of the Almighty. The sailors looked appealingly at their officers. The captain first ordered the injured men carried below and then immediately employed all hands in clearing away the wreckage.

The heavy rolling of the ship made the work doubly difficult but the apprehension of the passengers was gradually allayed by observing the quiet orderly way in which the officers directed the crew at their tasks. Hour after hour went by with no letting up and by noon all the wreckage had been cut away.

"We must get up a small sail as soon as possible," Harding addressed his first officer, "so that we can ease this rolling by getting a little steerageway. See what you can do while I take a shot to get our bearings."

The captain finished his observations and estimated the position of the frigate at latitude $41^{\circ} 3' N.$ and longitude $50^{\circ} 39' W.$, distant 1,140 miles from Cape Henlopen, and 878 from Corvo in the Azores.

The erection of even a little mast was laborious work but by evening the task was accomplished and a rag of a sail was set.

"Now she ought to ride a little easier," the captain assured Mr. Jay. "You and your party had better

Sketch Map Giving Location of Wreck of Confederacy

turn in early and get some rest for it looks as though we might have some more wind by morning."

"How are the injured men getting along?" Harding inquired of the doctor as the latter approached.

"All but one are doing finely, Captain," was the reply. "But I fear for David McIntosh. His arm and hand are mashed to a pulp. The mast fell right on him. I fear he has internal injuries as well. I must amputate his arm in the morning but I am afraid it will do no good."

"That is distressing," the captain sympathized. "Do what you can to make him easy."

The passengers having gone below Harding called his officers together and discussed the situation. He addressed himself first to the ship's master:

"What is your explanation of our losing all our spars so suddenly? You were on deck when it happened."

"We were making about nine knots through a cross sea and rolling nearly gunwale to," the master explained. "The wind didn't seem too brisk for the sails we were carrying. Suddenly Mr. Vaughan and I noticed at the same time that the rigging was slackening. He ordered the watch into the shrouds but before they could do anything, in less than three minutes, the masts all went over."

"I have known of cases, Captain," Mr. Vaughan, the second lieutenant, volunteered, "where a ship rigged in cold weather at home has had the same

trouble through a slackening of the rigging when she got into warm latitudes or into the gulf stream."

"But we have been in fairly warm weather since May," interposed Lieutenant Gregory, "and never before have had any trouble. And certainly everything was taut when we left Chester."

"Speculation won't do us any good now," rejoined Captain Harding. "The immediate question is what to do. I haven't said much to our passengers, but I don't consider our situation as rosy as it might be. With a little fair weather and calm sea we could rig up jury masts and make fair headway. But we can never get a stick up in this weather and it looks as if it is liable to get worse before it gets any better. We must hold on and hope for the best."

Early next morning with the gale increasing the frigate suddenly refused to mind her rudder and lay tossing and drifting with wind and current. A hasty examination disclosed that the shank of the rudder had wrenched and split, and the rudder was banging uselessly and dangerously against the stern.

The situation was indeed critical. A floating anchor was thrown off the bow in an endeavor to steady the ship into the wind. A sailor was let over the stern to pass a chain through the rings attached to a bolt fastened to the rudder below the break. A strong rope was secured to each end of the chain and led over the quarters but the force of the waves was so powerful and the sharp angle of the rope required so much

force to hold it in position that the bolt broke in the middle and drew out.

Fortunately there remained one other means of getting the rudder under control. An eyebolt had been fixed to each side of the rudder when the ship was launched. Chains were now made fast to these bolts and carried across the edge of the rudder in opposite directions, then made fast to ropes which in turn were passed through blocks at the end of spars run out through cabin ports and led to the capstan. This plan worked successfully and the frigate now obeyed her rudder without much difficulty.

On the fourth day after the catastrophe Gunner McIntosh died. Work was stopped for a short period and the passengers and crew assembled on deck. Chaplain Keith offered a short prayer and the body was consigned to the sea.

So high were the wind and seas that over two weeks elapsed before jury masts could be securely rigged. Almost every day, due to chafing, the steering ropes would snap and the rudder bang against the stern. Replacement by new ropes would be promptly accomplished but in the meanwhile the uncontrollable rudder was banging holes in the stern. To prevent further damage bags filled with oakum were hung on each side and watched night and day, but already considerable water had leaked in through the stern and ruined the bread supply.

By November 23 the weather had moderated and the frigate was in fair condition to proceed. The

French passengers were conferring in the minister's cabin when Mr. Jay entered to bid them good morning. An excellent set of charts was spread on the table and the conversation had obviously been in regard to the course which the vessel should pursue.

"Good morning, your Excellency," said M. Gerard, "we have been debating the most advisable course to take, and it seems to me that our best plan is to head for Cadiz, but M. Roche is inclined to differ. He favors making for the West Indies."

"Yes," the chevalier maintained, "If we head for Spain I believe we run a very great risk of perishing in the ocean."

"But we can lay a course by the Azores," protested the minister. "We are now closer to those islands than we are to the West Indies." He indicated their relative positions on the map spread out before him. "If we get within sight of the Azores and decide it is impractical to continue in this ship we can land there and surely find some vessel that will take us to Europe."

"But what would then become of the *Confederacy* and her crew?" Mr. Jay inquired.

"They must look out for themselves," was the response. "It is more important that I should get to France at the earliest moment."

"I have my own obligations to discharge in Spain," said Mr. Jay with a smile, "but I am not yet quite prepared to let them outweigh our consideration of

the two hundred-odd members of the crew to say nothing of the frigate herself."

"If we head for Cadiz," M. Gerard rejoined, "we have nothing to apprehend from the enemy, while the West Indian waters are infested with British ships. And should we arrive safely at Martinique, let us say, we would probably be detained there till spring. At any rate so far as the crew is concerned, we are of course at war and they must take their chance."

"Surely we could count upon a French frigate being assigned us to make the voyage," Mr. Jay replied as he arose. "But let us postpone the decision for later consideration."

Hardly had he left M. Gerard's cabin when he met Captain Harding.

"I was just searching for you, Mr. Jay," began Harding as he drew some papers from his pocket. "I have just completed a report of a council of officers on the best course for us to follow, as I told you I would. I am aware that M. Gerard would like to continue direct to Europe but the unanimous opinion of my officers and myself is that we should try to make Martinique. The Marine Committee directed me to be governed by your orders as to the port to which we shall proceed, but I believe you are entitled to have the benefit of our honest opinion on the situation."

"You would not be justified in pursuing any other plan, Captain. I shall be glad to study your report

and consult with M. Gerard. But tell me briefly how you feel about it."

"Well, in the first place," Harding began, "we are bound for Europe and should continue if we possibly can do so. But my officers agree with me that it would be foolhardy to attempt it. Our first effort should be to get out of these northern waters into smoother seas. It is true that we are nearer the Azores than Martinique but there is no harbor in any of the Azores and we are in no condition to lie in an open roadstead. Moreover we could do no repairing there.

"Our rudder is as you well know in a precarious condition and a good storm would be the finish of all of us. These masts won't stand hard weather. You can see that the foremast is sprung already. And look at those sails—rags, I call them. We have to sew up splits every day and we are nearly out of twine now."

"I agree entirely with you," Mr. Jay commented, "and in any event such a decision should be left entirely to you and your officers who are most competent to judge. But in view of your instructions I must consult M. Gerard. Rest assured, however, that your suggestions will be followed."

Jay handed the report to Gerard and asked him to consult with Roche and Remuy if he so desired. Later the minister returned the papers saying:

"I have seen MM. Roche and Remuy but they decline to express any opinion. They claim that the matter is decided and that under these circumstances

their opinion would be of no avail, and they did not choose either to confirm the report or to give it ineffectual opposition."

"Well, M. Gerard, so be it, then. They are passengers and we have no right to demand their opinions. They may express them or withhold them as they please. But with you and me it is different since Captain Harding's instructions from the Marine Committee place him under our orders. What do you say?"

"I am sensible of the honor which those instructions confer on me, Mr. Jay, but I do not find it convenient to express any opinion on the subject."

Mr. Jay thought it prudent to make no reply and turned the conversation to another topic. As soon as he could excuse himself he returned to the captain, indorsed the report with his concurrence and told him to go ahead.

The course was therefore set for Martinique. The frigate, now favored with fair winds and smooth sea, made the best progress possible in her crippled condition. M. Gerard, hurt by being disappointed in his expectation of a speedy arrival in France, lost his usual cordial and frank manner and became distinctly disagreeable. Harding paid no attention to him further than required by the necessary courtesies of his position. Jay endeavored to keep things pleasant by rendering the conversation as light and general as possible.

A few days before their expected arrival at Martinique Gerard addressed himself to Jay in a voice intended to be overheard by the captain:

"Isn't it time to think which side of the island it would be most prudent to go, north or south?"

Jay looked at him in amazement. It seemed impossible that Gerard could so far have lost his head as to attempt to interfere with the navigation of the ship.

But Gerard continued: "If we go to the south side we will be in danger of running to leeward of the island and then be unable to get up to Fort Royal, and in danger as well of falling into British hands off St. Lucia. Moreover I doubt if we will find the protection of French cruisers on the east side of the island."

Harding gulped, but replied courteously: "I certainly agree with your general reasoning, Monsieur, but I believe that the final decision should be reserved until we are in sight of the island. Then we will know the direction of the wind and whether any enemy war vessels are in sight."

Gerard paid little attention but turned to Jay for support with the idea of issuing joint instructions to the captain. But receiving no encouragement he continued, "I pretend to no extraordinary knowledge but I have made inquiries and am quite satisfied with the opinion I have given."

At that moment the ship's master entered and in response to Harding's inquiry said, "Yes, I am quite

well acquainted with the bays and harbors hereabouts. I was at the taking of Martinique in the last war."

This innocent reference to the last war brought an angry flush to Gerard's face and he started for the door.

"Wait a moment, M. Gerard," cried Jay, "won't you stay and hear what the master has to say?"

"No," was the curt reply, "I don't want to hear anything farther about it. I have done my duty in telling you what I know and now you may do as you please about the matter."

So Harding did as he pleased; followed his own opinion which, as a matter of fact, was virtually in accord with that so cavalierly expressed by Gerard, and brought the frigate safely in to St. Pierre. He would have preferred to continue to the better harbor of Fort Royal but the sound of cannon to the south led him to seek the nearer port.

This was a most fortunate decision as that same morning a British squadron under Rear Admiral Parker had stood over from St. Lucia and chased a French convoy into Fort Royal causing nine or ten of them to run ashore. One English frigate engaged the French frigate escorting the convoy. The French Rear Admiral, La Motte Piquet, with three men-of-war was lying under the guns of the fort. He immediately slipped his cables and bore down on the English frigate compelling her to sheer off. This move saved the remaining ships of the convoy, and Piquet hauled off and plied to windward to regain his former station.

Parker made every effort to come up with him and sharp broadsides were exchanged. Parker had the much superior force but Piquet was able to reach the protection of his shore batteries. At nightfall the British, having captured nine of the French merchant vessels, were called off and returned to St. Lucia.

Had the *Confederacy* passed by St. Pierre and attempted to reach the harbor of Fort Royal her capture would have been inevitable.

VII

Command Imperiled

MARTINIQUE was the most prosperous of the French West Indies, its plantations producing for export sugar, molasses, cotton, and tropical fruits. The imports were chiefly cattle, horses, beef, foodstuffs, and wine. The most considerable town on the island was St. Pierre, the metropolis of the French West Indies where all ships loaded with the produce of the neighboring French colonies were obliged to clear before proceeding to Europe.

The gay life of the island centered around the residence and court of the captain general of all the French Caribbees. The streets and cafés were filled with officers of the army and navy and masters of merchant ships.

Viewed from the sea the fine white stone buildings appeared to be situated at the very foot of a steep mountain, Mont Pelée, which sixscore years later was to burst with sudden flow of lava and bury the city with its thirty thousand souls.

The bay, while open, was a secure haven as the trade winds blew always from the shore. A ship could run in toward the town and anchor in the roadstead well within the protection of the forts.

All this was a most welcome sight to the passengers and crew of the poor crippled *Confederacy* fluttering with broken wings up the bay on December 18 fifty-three days since leaving Delaware Bay. They were met by the American navy agent, William Bingham, who did everything possible to supply their immediate needs.

Harding and his officers found many attentive listeners to their harrowing tale among the French officers who thronged the cafés. But they were embarrassed at their inability to hold up their end because of lack of funds. Harding had expected to draw on Franklin when reaching France.

But Jay sensed the situation and came to the rescue:

THE idea of our officers being obliged to sneak, as they phrase it, from the company of French officers for fear of running in debt with them for a bottle of wine or a bowl of punch because not able to pay for their share of the reckoning, was too humiliating to be tolerable, . . .

Shades of Josephus Daniels!

. . . In a word, I have drawn on . . . my salary for one hundred guineas in their favor, to be divided among them according to their respective ranks. Indeed, it would have given me pleasure to have done something toward covering the nakedness of the crew; but the expense I have been put to by coming here and the preparations for another voyage would not admit of it.

On the twenty-second the navy agent escorted Mr. Jay and Captain Harding to Fort Royal to call on the

governor, Marquis de Bouillè, who assured them that no effort would be spared to recondition the *Confederacy*. Shortly after this interview M. Gerard, who had also arrived from St. Pierre evidently in the same mood in which he quitted the frigate, observed to Jay:

"There will be great difficulties and delays in attempting to refit the *Confederacy* here. There are no masts in store; in fact the navy has been obliged to resort to the expedient of purchasing spars from merchantmen. It would be a considerable expense to keep the crew here for a long time. Why not give the frigate a new rudder and let her proceed to America to refit?"

"We cannot do anything like that," objected Jay. "The English have a great superiority in these waters and a frigate under jury masts would find no safety in flight. It would be much more prudent for Captain Harding to remain here even if he has to send to America for materials and provisions."

"Supposing I could get the French squadron to convoy her to sea?"

Mr. Jay considered this proposal required no answer, but he thought to himself that in their present state of inferiority the squadron would rather keep in close touch with Fort Royal than venture an unequal combat for no other object than to start the *Confederacy* safely on her way. In fact the *Confederacy* would have to be convoyed all the way to Ameri-

can waters in order to be assured that she would not suffer capture.

His cogitations were interrupted by the arrival of Admiral La Motte Piquet with the governor. The latter again greeted Mr. Jay. "The whole arrangement has been completed. The same attention will be paid the *Confederacy* as if she were a French frigate. Furthermore the admiral is pleased to put at your disposal the ship *Aurore* to carry M. Gerard's party and yours to France."

After expressing their high appreciation of this attention the Americans availed themselves of the opportunity to inspect the city before returning to St. Pierre. Mr. Bingham remarked that he hoped the local government would finance the refitting of the frigate as he himself was entirely out of funds, in fact, was considerably in debt on the public account because of the recent outfitting of the *Deane*. He secured Mr. Jay's promise to write to Congress on the subject.

There was some entertainment in St. Pierre to furnish relief from the cramped quarters of the frigate. The officers frequently visited the playhouse but unfamiliarity with the French language detracted somewhat from a full enjoyment and relaxation. One of the *Confederacy's* officers became involved in a dispute over an *affaire d'amour* and a challenge resulted. At six in the morning the barge conducted the duelists and their attendants to an isolated spot beyond the town where shots were exchanged but no damage

done. "It may be easily judged," reads the journal of Joseph Hardy, Captain of Marines on the *Confederacy*, "what was the cause of this Dispute from the Place where it happened, but it is too frequently the cause of Strife and promoter of Bloodshed."

Having seen the *Confederacy* safely convoyed on the day after Christmas from St. Pierre to the naval base at Fort Royal, Jay with his family and Gerard with his suite sailed on the *Aurore* on December 28 for France.

The terrible condition of the slaves was observed by Captain Hardy on a canoe trip from Fort Royal to St. Pierre:

THESE Canoes will carry 6 or 7 hh'ds Sugar and ply with Freight or Passengers from here to St. Pierrs. they are rowed by five or six Negroes whose Lives appear to be as wretched as any part of the Human race. Some of them are chained by one leg to the Boat and others shew the stripes of cruelty on their Body's in this manner these unhappy Mortals row in these Boats for Weeks without 10 hours intermission and as naked as the moment of their Birth not even the Galley Slave in Barbary is more miserable. It is not only these that feel the stripes of inhumanity but many on shore are to be seen with a heavy Iron ring round his Neck from which leads a heavy chain to another ring round his Waist and from that to another Ring round his Ankle, and others dragging by one foot 50 or 60 lbs. of Chain and in this situation are obliged to go thro' their usual services.

Harding and his officers were active in getting

repairs under way but were in low spirits at having an indifferent prospect of securing the necessary spars. The French admiral visited the *Confederacy* and reduced the size of the crew by demanding and taking all Frenchmen—between forty and fifty of them—and borrowing thirty more sailors and marines for a twenty days' cruise. Admiral Piquet sailed with his fleet January 3, 1780. The next morning an English fleet appeared off the bay, Admiral Parker having received intelligence of the French movement, but too late to intercept Piquet's fleet. Parker with a superior force compelled Piquet to take shelter under the batteries of Basse Terre on the island of Guadeloupe and held him there for a month, so that the borrowed sailors were not returned until the twenty-fifth of February.

In the meantime Harding was having difficulty with his crew largely through enforced idleness. On January 12 several seamen having liberty to go ashore returned laden with much rum. Many of the crew had been impressed from English privateers and now with Dutch courage demanded to be sent to the British island of St. Lucia to be exchanged. In a few minutes the ship appeared to be aflame with mutiny. The ringleaders, however, were immediately overpowered and put in irons, the more obstreperous being gagged until they cooled down.

Sickness was reducing the active complement of the crew. Many were sent ashore to the hospital:

Two of our People taken with severe fitts this Evening, the fifer tumbled over Board and had near being Drowned, a Man tumbled into the Mainhold without receiving much injury, and one of the Centrys tumbled off the Gangway in upon Deck. I believe the D-1 got aboard to Night the whole Ship seemed to be in a Tumult all the Evening.

A few days later a boat's crew, ashore for water, mutinied and sailed out to the British fleet which was laying off the entrance to the bay.

Harding's refitting difficulties were set forth in his letter to the president of Congress dated at Fort Royal, February 4, 1780:

I WROTE you the 30th Decr last informing you of my being in this place and the situation the Ship was then in, since which I have been endeavoring to procure the necessary Articles for the Ship's outfit, which I find it very difficult to obtain, and some impossible to be had at this place, especially Suitable Masts.

However I have procured some Spars which will Answer for small Masts, which I shall fit the Ship out with as soon as possible as I do not think it prudent to Continue here any longer then is really necessary, as the ships Bottom will undoubtedly sustain very great Injury by the Worms: and am apprehensive that my Crew will suffer very much with Sickness by a further detention.

Therefore shall Fit her out with such necessary's as are to be Procured immediately, and not wait for suitable Masts &c. as it is very uncertain when I shall be supplied or whether I should be supplied at all. It altogether depends on the Arrival of a Fleet which is expected from Europe.

expect to receive Orders from Congress at this Island or

at St. Eustatius at which place I shall Call at for that purpose Provided I do not receive them here. If I do not received them at either place, shall proceed as I informed you in my last, that is to Boston as it is my opinion and appears to be the opinion of Mr. Bingham the Agent and a number of Americans who I have consulted with that it is the most suitable place on the Continent for a ship in her situation, as she can be refitted there with much less expense then at Philadelphia or any other part of America.

I informed you in my last that it would be impossible to grave the ship here, and that I should only give her a Rank Heal and Bootop her,* which is one Principal motive I have in proceeding to Boston, as she will stand in great need of being graved by the time she arrives in America, and think it a very suitable place for that purpose.

It will be necessary on my arrival at Boston, or any other part of the Continent that Congress direct me to proceed to, that the ship be supplied with a new set of Masts, which if Congress think proper should be glad if they would give Orders for their being procured by the time I arrive that the ship may not be detained for them.

And again on February 18:

. . . I have procured such necessary's for the ships outfit as are to be had in this place, have got her Bowsprit Main Mast, and Mizⁿ Mast, and expect in a very few days to have the foremast Completed so that there is a probability of being ready for Sea in a very short time . . .

This makeshift equipment was in fair shape by

* He was just going to careen the ship, scrape the bottom and daub on a mixture of tallow, sulphur, and rosin: he could not get enough pitch and tar to do the more thorough job of graving.

March 13. Harding warped out of the careenage and made sail. Passing down the bay he saluted the French admiral with thirteen guns and received nine from him in reply. In the afternoon the *Confederacy* reached St. Pierre where she anchored to take on the balance of her provisions. On the twenty-first a French officer came aboard with a request from the governor that the *Confederacy* transport French troops to San Domingo in order to enable them to join the long-expected fleet. It troubled Harding to refuse this request but he did not feel it consistent with his orders to comply.

Almost all vessels in the harbor were impressed to carry troops and these transports joined Admiral de Grasse who was sailing to the northward. The following day they met the long-expected grand fleet sailing southward under the command of Comte de Guichen and the whole force turned south for the purpose of besieging St. Lucia. Harding reconsidered his earlier decision now that battle appeared imminent and sailed from St. Pierre to join the French fleet. But an express from the American agent Bingham overtook him with orders to return. Had he continued with the fleet he would have had the experience—novel to American frigates—of participating in the concerted action of fleet against fleet. De Guichen and Rodney maneuvered around the Caribbean, fought several inconclusive skirmishes over a period of two months and then returned each to his respective base.

The American Board of Admiralty—successor of the Marine Committee—had issued orders for the *Confederacy* to return directly to Philadelphia, these orders being sent to Messrs. Curson and Gouverneur, the American agents at St. Eustatius, a Dutch port at one entrance to the Caribbean much frequented by ships of many countries. An open port, free to the commerce of all nations, this little Dutch outpost of scarcely seven square miles area was a flourishing center of trade, legitimate and illegitimate. The Dutch traders were extremely sympathetic with the revolting colonies and large supplies of warlike stores and provisions, brought from Europe in Dutch bottoms, were here transferred to American ships who ran the gauntlet of the British blockade and, if successful, brought their cargoes into American ports.

Nor were the Dutch alone concerned in these transactions. Many British merchants found rich profits in supplying provisions to the enemy. In January, 1781, Admiral Hood, escorting a fleet of British merchantmen from England to British West Indian ports, missed in one night twelve of his convoy. In February, after Great Britain had declared war on Holland, Hood captured St. Eustatius and there found his missing merchantmen busily unloading their cargoes. The masters and crews of these ships were immediately impressed and put on board his warships.

The town consisted of one narrow street a mile long running from the shore back into the face of the

mountain. Shopkeepers of all nations displayed their wares which ranged from rich embroideries, East Indian silks, and French millinery on the one hand to sailor jackets, pots and kettles on the other.

As he had written to the president of Congress, Harding expected to stop at St. Eustatius after leaving Martinique. But Bingham had probably just received a copy of the orders for the *Confederacy* when he recalled Harding from his mission with the French fleet, and impressed him with the advisability of clearing direct for Philadelphia. On March 30 the *Confederacy* sailed with Bingham as a passenger, saluting the town of St. Pierre and the warships in the road with thirteen guns, receiving a farewell salute of eleven in response. Five merchant ships sailed under her protection.

The frigate could hardly be called in first-class trim. Five days out, in a heavy rolling sea, she sprung her maintopmast. This was an unfortunate accident but, as Hardy expresses it, "when we recollect the Distresses and disagreeable events of our late Passage we can or ought to look upon this as a trifling circumstance."

Several sail were sighted during the cruise and attempts were made to close in on them, but the inferior rig of the frigate made it impossible to overtake any of them. Approaching the coast of America the convoy scattered, one brig remaining with the *Confederacy*. On April 24 Harding discovered a schooner

bearing down on him. He hoisted British colors and fired a lee gun. The schooner showed an English Jack at her mainmast head but stood off to the southward. The merchant brig hoisted English colors over American to make her appear as a prize, but the schooner was wary and kept on her course. Harding knew it was futile to chase and as his ruse did not work successfully he resigned himself to returning home without a prize.

On the next evening the *Confederacy* dropped her anchor inside Cape Henlopen. The weather was very bad and the signals for a pilot remained unanswered. On the following day the second lieutenant with six men took the yawl and headed for Lewistown to secure a pilot and—disappeared. Not till the twenty-seventh did a pilot come aboard and take the vessel up the Delaware to a safe anchorage.

Harding received orders to proceed at once to Philadelphia where new masts and spars were awaiting his arrival. Because scarcity of funds prevented the Board of Admiralty from promptly refitting the frigate, she lay all summer off the city. The men were clamoring for pay and subsistence; they surely were entitled to some consideration after their hardships of the past six months.

Capt. John Young of the *Saratoga* was embarrassed by the same situation; he and Harding joined in a petition to Congress for some adjustment in the basis of pay showing that

the pay of the Officers & men in the Marine service of said States which at the first establishment was Just & Generous is now by Depreciation become so nearly reduced to nothing as to be Considered by Seamen as no reward for Pass'd services, or inducement to engage for the future. That the subsistence Money allowed per Week to officers, whilst necessarily on shore & in Port and refitting is depreciated to a sum below the price of a single Nights Lodging . . .

The members of the Board of Admiralty sympathized and offered a resolution in Congress to the effect that the rate of pay fixed by the act of November 15, 1776, should be considered as and paid in specie or other money equivalent, and that forty continental dollars should be considered as equivalent to one dollar in specie.

Congress had in the preceding March fixed that basis as its own estimate of the value of the bills it had been issuing, but was not prepared to pay out bills at the same rate, and so declined to follow the suggestion of the Admiralty.

Complaints of this nature were not confined to such men as Young and Harding. The Commander-in-Chief was faced with the same condition. Washington had recently been obliged to suppress a mutiny. The soldiers had been distressed for want of provisions. They had not received pay for five months. If they had been paid in Continental bills they could have bought little or nothing with them. The enemy was taking advantage of this condition to circulate propaganda among the troops:

THE time is at length arrived, when all the artifices, and falsehoods of the Congress and of your commanders can no longer conceal from you the misery of your situation; you are neither Clothed, Fed nor Paid; your numbers are wasting away by Sickness, Famine, Nakedness, and rapidly so by the period of your stipulated Services, being in general expired, this is then the moment to fly from slavery and fraud.

Surely the fortunes of Congress and America were at a low ebb!

The long-expected arrival of reinforcements from France put new life in the new nation. Rochambeau had arrived at Newport on July 12, having been convoyed by the fleet under De Ternay. Congress took heart and resolved on July 26

that the frigates *Trumbull*, *Confederacy* and *Deane*, and the sloop of war *Saratoga*, [These four vessels were all that remained of the Continental Navy except the *Alliance*] be put under the direction of General Washington, to be employed in cooperation with the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, commanded by Admiral the Chevalier de Ternay, in any naval enterprizes on the coasts of North America.

But the British Admiral Arbuthnot had bottled up the French fleet in Narragansett Bay and the American vessels could not get fitted and manned for sea.

So the distressing summer went by. Harding was brought before a court-martial to explain the dismasting of his ship and was then returned to duty. Captain James Nicholson, who had been brilliantly fighting in command of the *Trumbull* and was refitting at

Philadelphia, looked over into Naboth's vineyard and decided he would like to command the *Confederacy*. He filed a memorial* to that effect with the president of Congress laying great stress on his seniority.

As the Senior officer in the American Service, I think myself justly entitled to one of the largest Ships in the Navy, but instead of that I have one of the smallest. A Junior officer having been appointed to the *Alliance* and the youngest in the service to the *Confedricy*. Should we be ordered to Act in conjunction and an action insue, my Vessel being the signal Ship, would, as is usual in these cases, necessarily draw the attention of the Enemy, Your Excellency here will readily perceive without any comment of mine the embarrassed circumstances in which I would be placed, not but I must observe to your Excellency, in justice to myself, that altho I consider myself as injured by these appointments, yet my Attachments to the Public Service, if the alterations that in justice ought to take place would injure it, will induce me to rest satisfied that Congress will from the attention they readily pay to the representation of their public servant, adopt such measures which may Render the appointments in furture more regular and uniform.

The Admiralty, to which the memorial was referred, was inclined to give the question serious consideration but could do nothing without the approval of Congress since the latter by an act of September 25, 1778, had particularly appointed Harding to the

* Papers of the Continental Congress - MS.

frigate *Confederacy*. So a report was filed with Congress concluding with the recommendation that:

THE Board are of opinion that Captain Nicholson's claim is reasonable and conformable to the rule established by the Marine Committee and adopted by this Board; and are fully of opinion that was he now appointed to command the *Confederacy*, it would be of public utility.

Harding's popularity with the Board did not seem to be as great as Nicholson's in spite of the fact that two years before the latter had had to stand court-martial for deserting his ship and crew in Delaware Bay. But Nicholson had recently redeemed himself in a three-hour engagement with the *Watt*—a desperate but inconclusive battle at the close of which each ship was too seriously disabled to take advantage of the similar plight of the other.

The concluding part of the memorial showed less confidence in Harding's ability although there appeared to be a difference of opinion among the Admiralty members as it was crossed out before submission to Congress. The eliminated clause read, referring to Nicholson, "as under him she might be immediately manned which is of great importance at this autumn season before the navigation of this river is obstructed by the ice."

But there does not appear to be any justice in blaming Harding for the inability of Congress to supply the funds necessary to recondition the frigate, nor for the low ebb of patriotism which made en-

listments next to impossible. Nicholson was similarly situated as to enlistments. The Admiralty office had recently reported to Congress that Nicholson had been sent down the river to his ship to prevent the wholesale desertion of his crew. The best he could do was to persuade them to remain on board long enough to bring the *Trumbull* up to Philadelphia. He reported that his petty officers and crew had been previously engaged to privateers and merchant ships then fitting out at Philadelphia. The frigate *Deane*, Capt. Samuel Nicholson, was ordered down to Reedy Island to prevent similar disaffection spreading among her crew.

Harding again resorted to severe measures to secure his complement of seamen. President Reed of Pennsylvania again complained to Congress. The latter referred the question to a committee who reported:

THAT they have conferred with the President of the Council on the subject, who informs that having rec'd repeated Complaints against Captⁿ Harding for impressing men they thought it their duty to lay the matter before Congress not with a view to hinder Captⁿ Harding from pursuing his voyage but that proper measures may be taken to prevent Such practices in future.

Congress referred the question to the Admiralty "to take order thereon," but no order appears to have been issued.

In the meantime the brothers Nicholson of the *Trumbull* and *Deane* had held up the privateers

Holker, *Fair American* and *General Green* and lifted a goodly portion of each crew, but they were compelled to give them back.

Men just wouldn't enlist. The unexpected news of the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, earlier in the year had increased the gloom. Commodore Whipple had been assisting in the defense of that city with the *Providence*, *Boston*, *Queen of France*, and *Ranger*. The *Queen of France* had been sunk to obstruct the channel; the other three had fallen into the hands of the British. All the crews had been included in the capitulation.

Groups of these sailors were exchanged and sent overland to Philadelphia. Nothing could now induce them to enlist on the *Confederacy*. Their service and hardships were sufficient excuse. The navy service at this time had lost all its glamor. In spite of the small number of ships still remaining in commission in the navy, or perhaps because of that very situation, it was becoming more and more difficult to secure enlistments. All Continental frigates were leaving port with a serious shortage of their complement of men.

VIII

Last Gun of the Revolution

THE *Confederacy*, after more than seven months in port, dropped down the river on December 5, 1780. The presence on board of two Frenchmen, late consul and vice-consul at Charleston, indicated another merchant voyage to the West Indies. Harding as usual was undermanned but his previous experiences in impressing men in Philadelphia suggested caution in repeating the same tactics.

He was able, however, to pick up three deserters off a schooner and three more who were hiding at Port Penn, and ten men he impressed from two small schooners. On the thirteenth a south wind brought up three vessels from the sea which passed near the *Confederacy* now anchored off Reedy Island. Harding fired several shots which brought them to anchor, and then sent boat crews aboard. Seven men were impressed from the brig *Randolph* and three from the schooner *Neptune*.

With the third vessel, the brig *Trooper*, the undertaking must have reminded Harding of his experience with Barry and the *Delaware*. The lieutenant who was sent aboard found a sixteen-gun vessel with a crew of one hundred men well armed and

determined not to be forced. The lieutenant knew he had no authority to enforce his demands and finding his threats of no avail withdrew, allowing the brig to proceed on her way to Philadelphia. Harding makes the interesting comment, "Had he been invested with power similar to the British Navy in such cases we could have found methods to have taken the refusal of her men without endangering lives." A few days later the schooner *Fame* was made to give up six men. This made a total of thirty-two impressments and deserters recaptured, increasing the number of the crew to two hundred and sixty.

The *Saratoga* came down from Philadelphia and Captain Young expressed his desire to cruise in company. On the twentieth the two war vessels got under way with a fleet of thirteen merchantmen, but the pilot aboard the *Confederacy* decided it was too rough to venture out and Harding was therefore left behind until the next day. The frigate was not proving a very good sailer with her new rigging. A few days out, in a heavy rolling sea, her mainmast sprung. Every time a sail was sighted and chase given, Harding anxiously watched his rigging for sign of weakness. If the wind freshened he must shorten sail and in several instances let his quarry escape.

At noon on January 5 a sail was sighted and Harding gave chase. By sundown he had gained half the distance and by ten at night was alongside. In answer to his hail he was informed that she was from Liverpool, Nova Scotia, bound for Turks Is-

land in ballast. Turks Island, located in the Bahamas about 90 miles north of Haiti, was at this time a British possession where many small vessels came to secure cargoes of salt.

The captain was ordered on board with his papers. The vessel proved to be the *Elizabeth and Nancy*, Capt. Clifford Byrne of Salem, Mass. When Byrne found out that his captor was an American he produced two sets of papers, the second showing him to be in command of an American ship.

Captain Byrne claimed that the brigantine was an American vessel and that his papers were false; that they had been fabricated in Salem for the purpose of deceiving any British officer who might board him and of securing thereby immunity from capture. He asserted that he had sailed from Salem but admitted that he was bound for a British island.

The details of this statement did not fit well with each other and Harding decided to let Byrne tell his story to the judge. A prize crew was therefore put aboard and the two ships headed for Cape François reaching that port on January 8.

Harding presented the facts of the capture to the French Admiralty Court and Byrne again protested his innocence and asserted his loyalty to America and the loyalty of the owners of the vessel. The opinion of the court, however, coincided with that which had guided Harding, and the prize was duly condemned.

A protest was later made to Congress over this seizure. It developed that the brig was owned by

George Crowninshield, Nathaniel Silsbee, John Collins, and Joseph White,* all of Salem, Mass.:

THAT in the Month of December last, they fitted out for Sea, & Laded in their own Harbour, The Brig^{te} called the *Elizabeth & Nancy*, that they regularly cleared her from the proper Office at Salem, & sent her under the Command of Clifford Byrne an Inhabitant of the same Town, & with a Mate & Crew all Americans, for a Load of Salt at Turks Island; that they gave to the Captain to purchase a Cargo, five hundred Spanish Mill'd Dollars; that it was the true intention of the said owners & Master to bring back a Load of Salt to Salem, nor had they any design to carry on a Contraband Trade, or to break any acts of Congress, or of any of the United States; that in order to secure themselves from Capture by the Enemy, & think it justifiable to deceive, as well as to Conquer them, they procur'd an old British Register, which had belong'd to a Vessel that had been Condemn'd as Prize, & furnish'd themselves with Papers resembling the Papers given from British Customhouses, but fribicated at Salem: That on their intended Voyage to the West-Indies, the said Brig^{te} was taken by Capⁿ Seth Harding in the *Confederacy*, belonging to the United States, who being possessed of all the Papers, but fully satisfied of the true state of Facts, carried her into Cape-François & there by some real or pretended form of trial, the Captⁿ and all the People belonging to the said Brig^{te} were turn'd out of possession of her & Your petitioners divested of their property therein, & of two hundred & Ninty three Spanish Mill'd Dollars, part of her Cargo.— Under these cir-

* The Journals of the Continental Congress omit the name of Joseph White. He however signs the petition while John Collins does not sign it.

cumstances of essential injury Your petitioners for redress apply to Your Honors; as the Owners of s^d Ship, as the final Judges of these questions & in the more important Character of the National Guardians of the Rights of all the Subjects of the United States.— & they beg leave to state the reasons for their application; they know of no resolves of Congress, or of any acts of either of the States, that Subjects to forfeiture any other than British property, or Contraband Goods going to the Enemy, & by the best Writers on the Laws of Nations, their Council inform them that the circumstance of having no Papers, or double Papers on board produces no other effect than to effect costs, where the property is a Friends: In the present case Your petitioners & great numbers of their Neighbours, in the Massachusetts, who are daily practising the same acts to invade the Enemy, have been led into it from a thorough Knowledge that the Honorable Congress or their secret or commercial Committee, have there since fitted out a Vessel, bound for France but apparently for England, with like Papers, fabricated in Virginia, under the care of Mr Harrison, which was brought into this State, & from the Certificates of the Honorable Congress, or their Committee, was acquitted here; they could not suppose that such an example would lead them into a Criminal or dangerous Error.— If it can, very successfull Cruises may be made on the Navigation of the People of this State, for a great proportion of them, are in the same situation.— They beg leave to suggest one other matter; they have carefully revised the resolves of Congress from the first publishment thereof to the last; and also the Commissions & Instructions given to Armed Vessels, & they find no Authority given to foreign Courts, to try & Condemn the property of Ameri-

can Subjects, or decide questions of this importance, between Subject & Subject, nor can they find by the Law of Nations, any Nation upon Eearth, has communicated such Powers or Authority to any foreign Jurisdiction even when united by the strictest Alliance, but they oblige even legal Prizes or their Papers to be sent home that they may be tried; this evil is more extencive than Your Honors apprehend, the Resolves of Congress & Laws of the several States, may make different regulations of Trade from our Allies; in one striking instance they have; as the Re-Captures, in some cases, giving only one Eighth to the Recaptors, while French Institutions give the whole.— American Merchants therefore fitt out their Vessels under the Laws of their own Country, & knowing the probability of Re-Capture by American Cruisers, compar'd with those of France & Spain, & our Courts is very great; it enters into the calculation of their Voyages; but if a Vessel belonging even to the Continent itself, or to the Subjects of these States, may Re-Capture their Vessels, at the mouth of our Harbours, & send them to a Foreign Port, which the difference between one Eighth & the whole will always induce them to do; or shall take our inward bound Vessels & cause them to be judged as to their contravention of the Laws of Trade or War, by different Rules from those they know (& Captures of both these kinds have already happened) miserable will be their situation, & Piracy will take place of a reputable employment, that of annoying our Enemies; Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray Your Honors, either to take the matter into Your own immediate Determination, as they cannot see how the same may now be regularly tried, & direct their Vessel & Cargo with damages to be delivered them, or paid for to them; or that the s^d Harding be com-

pelled to institute a Trial in some Maritime Jurisdiction, that the truth may appear & Justice take place; & on this occasion, they cannot but suggest, that after the grivious treatment, they & their People have received, & the trouble, inconvenience, & expence they have been put to by the said Harding, that they hope they shall not be compelled to carry their Cause, & the evidence to support it, four Hundred Miles; but that the same may be Tried, where the truth can best be investigated & where the Witnesses are at Home.— Or that your Honors will otherwise relieve Your Petitioners, as to you may seem meet.

In spite of American ownership the facts were that the brig had clearance papers from a British port for a British island and was captured on the high seas. Congress very properly dismissed the petition because if the sentence of condemnation was valid there would be no reason for its interposition, and if void the vessel, wherever found, might be recovered by appropriate legal process. Furthermore there existed in America no tribunal for review or correction of a sentence given by the French Admiralty.

The cargo of military stores which the *Confederacy* was to take to the United States was not ready for shipment and so the frigate lay in the harbor for three weeks. Visits ashore were frequent and enjoyable. The captain and officers made their official calls and were hospitably received by the governor, M. de Balcombe, and the general in command of the French troops. Dinners, balls, and entertainments at the playhouse were the order of the day, as well as ex-

change visits with the other ships lying in the harbor.

But the warm climate caused considerable sickness among the crew. Many were sent ashore to the hospital situated on the heights beyond the town where good treatment and cooler surroundings soon brought them back to health.

A peculiar reversal of the impressment situation in Delaware Bay was brought about by several seamen recently arrived on merchant vessels hailing from Philadelphia. These seamen, on account of alleged ill treatment received from their captains, expressed their desire to enlist on the *Confederacy* and Harding felt duty bound to receive them into the Continental service. But the merchant captains were wroth and detained the barge and crew sent for the sailors' wages and belongings.

Harding reported the affair to the governor who ordered the offending captains to appear before him. After hearing their story the governor offered to put them in jail and punish them according to the laws of the country if Harding so desired, but the offenders acknowledged their errors, begged every officer's pardon belonging to the ship that they had insulted and promised for the future to pay due respect to the Officers and flag of the United States, upon which they were discharged. A frequent Conduct of this kind where insult is offered wou'd bring our Flag in more respect.

On February 1, the cargo being not yet ready for

shipment, the *Confederacy* with the French brig *Cat* sailed on a two weeks' cruise in compliance with the governor's orders. Captain Hardy's marine force was strengthened by the addition of 31 French marines. Four merchant vessels bound for America were convoyed to a safe distance and then the two warships searched for prizes. But the only vessels overhauled proved to be Americans and on February 16 Harding returned to Cape François with no booty to his credit.

The *Saratoga*, *Deane*, and the privateer *Fair American*, now appeared in the harbor. These, with the *Cat* and *Confederacy*, made a formidable squadron which on February 20 sailed out and captured the merchant ship *Diamond*, Hudson, Master, bound from St. Kitts to Jamaica with a cargo of dry goods and slaves. The *Confederacy* and *Saratoga* are also credited with the capture of a twenty-gun ship from St. Eustatius bound for Jamaica with a very valuable cargo, "said to be part of Admiral Rodney's plunder at St. Eustatia."

These Continental frigates had gathered at Cape François for the purpose of convoying the merchant fleet which had been assembling at that port. Harding was instructed to take on board certain naval stores supposed to have been lodged at the Cape with M. Carabasse for the use of the United States by order of Roderique Hortalez & Co., the trade name under which Beaumarchais was assisting the colonies. But it appeared that a large part of the stores had been

applied to the use of Count D'Estaing's fleet. So Harding took what was left in the way of clothes for the army and was induced to load up with colonial produce for the rest of his cargo although he would have preferred to keep his ship in better condition for a possible engagement with the enemy. He also had several French officers as passengers.

On March 15 the fleet sailed—37 American merchantmen convoyed by the *Confederacy*, *Deane*, and *Saratoga*; 40 French merchantmen convoyed by a French frigate. The latter were bound for France and soon parted company, bearing to the eastward.

Off the Delaware Capes on April 14, Harding espied a large frigate bearing down on the fleet. The *Deane* and *Saratoga* were nowhere in sight. Harding lay back to give his convoy an opportunity to escape, cleared decks for action, and anxiously watched the approaching vessel.

A second strange ship appeared in the offing. The merchantmen crowded on all sail. The frigate hoisted the English colors and ran out a second hidden tier of guns. She proved to be the *Roebuck*, 44 guns, Captain Orde, and the second vessel, rapidly approaching, proved to be the frigate *Orpheus*, 32 guns, Captain Colpoys. The presence of the *Deane* and *Saratoga* would have meant the safety of the whole fleet, but in the face of these overwhelming odds it

seemed best to avoid bloodshed. Harding hauled down his colors for the first time.*

The greater part of the merchant fleet reached the Capes in safety. The *Deane* arrived at Boston the latter part of the same month. The *Saratoga* was never heard from again.†

Rivington's Royal Gazette reports this capture in its issue of April 21, 1781:

LAST Thursday was conducted into our harbour the *Confederacy* a frigate carrying 28 French twelves & 8-6 pounders; it is said her keel was originally laid for a ship of 64 cannon, she was taken on Saturday last off the Capes of Virginia by one of his Majesty's ships of war; her commander Seth Harding of Connecticut, had made every disposition for a close engagement, when perceiving her antagonist (on hoisting English colours) run out a lower tier of guns, and another frigate in sight, he very prudently struck the rebel colours, and submitted without any resistance. Amongst near 300 men on board her were found a

* The date of this capture is given as June 22, 1781, by Cooper, I, 247; Maclay, I, 147; Spears, I, 298; Middlebrook, I, 51. Allen, II, 556, says April 15. Beatson, V, 303; and Paullin, 207; give April 14, as does *Rivington's Gazette* of April 21, 1781. The best evidence favors April 14, 1781.

† Cooper, I, 248; Emmons, 4; Maclay, I, 143; Abbot, 211; Spears, I, 293; lose sight of the *Saratoga* in the fall of 1780. They may have been misled by a letter quoted in part on page 86 of Miss Barney's *Memoirs of Joshua Barney*. Barney was serving as a lieutenant under Captain Young of the *Saratoga* and in October, 1780, was put in command of a prize captured by that ship, "a circumstance that preserved him for future service, as the *Saratoga* and her crew perished at sea, unheard of."

number of British seamen who had been forced into the enemy's service thro' the harshest treatment in their goals, these with great alacrity immediately entered into that of their native country. We are informed her invoice amounts to fifty thousand pounds, the cargo consists of sugar, cotton, indigo and a large quantity of clothing for Mr. Washington's army. She was bound from Cape Franchoise to Philadelphia with a convoy, of which several vessels have been already brought into this port. She is the largest ship ever employed by the Congress, whose navy (according to Mr. Richard Langdon's letter, date October 5, and produced to us by the first of three intercepted mails) is now reduced to three frigates viz, the *Alliance*, *Trumbull*, and *Deane*. There was a French Colonel of Engineers in the rebel service, and several other persons of that nation on board the prize. Capt. Harding was some time ago taken and brought to this city in the *Oliver Cromwell* privateer.* He was one of the captors of the *Jason's* fleet from New York for Carilina; and it is justly due to him, that we inform the public, he treated the gentlemen, who, on that disastrous event became his prisoners, with great humanity and kindness.†

* This is an excusable error. The *Oliver Cromwell* was under the command of Harding's former lieutenant and fellow townsman, Timothy Parker, when captured off Sandy Hook June 5, 1779, after a two hours' engagement.

† Rivington's informant must be wrong here. H.M.S. *Jason*, Captain Porterfield, and seven vessels carrying stores from New York for the British troops in South Carolina and Georgia, were captured on April 6 and 7, 1779, by the *Warren*, *Queen of France*, and *Ranger*. The *Confederacy* did not sail from New London until April 29. It is possible that Harding may have fallen in with the *Queen of France* or her prizes on the high seas and assisted Captain Olney by assuming charge of some of his prisoners.

The British frigates triumphantly carried the *Confederacy* into New York; the officers were paroled while the crew was confined in the *Jersey* prison ship. The faithful service and misfortunes of one of these prisoners, as recounted in his own words in a petition at a later date, appearing in Connecticut Revolutionary War archives, is worthy of record not on his account alone, but as well to illustrate the trials and tribulations and unconquerable spirit of the patriotic soldier and sailor:

THE humble petition of Francis Clarydge is as follows—that in the year A. D. 1775 your Petitioner entered into the State service for eight months under the command of Col. Sergeant & was wounded at the battle of Leitchmore Point* in his left arm. In the next year he entered into Col. (now Gen.) Glover's Regt. for one years service & lawfully was discharged at North Castle in the state of New York.

On his return to Boston he entered into the service of the United States for During the war then in Contest between sd states & Great Britain, under the command of Col. Meiggs. Having lost my Eye Sight in a great measure through fatuige and hardships while in service, was by order of Gen. Parsons discharged after having served three full years & nine months with the reputation of a good & faithfull soldier. Your Petitioner was soon after, by order of Gen. Gates recommended to the care of Invilaid.

The same day his name was entered in the Invilaid Roll he was pressed aboard of the *Providence*, under command of Comodore Whiple. After this he was in service on board

* Siege of Boston.

the *Deane* Frigate for six months. Likewise in the *Tarter* for the same time under the command of Capt. Kilkart.

After the service of the above he was put aboard of the *Confederacy*, which ship was taken by the *Roebuck* & british vessel of war, & was carried into New York & confined in the *Jersey* Prison ship for better than three months.

Immediately he was taken from the flag vessel by Gen. Arnold at New London & carried back to New York Sugar house, and there confined for two months. He then entered in service on board the *Holderness* in service of Mr. Jones a Marchant at Boston, was taken by the *Jupiter* of sixty-four guns & carried into Antigua, Prisoner & was Liberated at the Conclusion of peace. Your Petitioner is therefor by reason of Age & hard servitude together with a still greater loss of sight unable to support himself in that manner which the natural necessities of human life require. Must beg that your Excellency together with the Hon. Council will grant him some small gratuity whereby he may obtain a comfortable support through the remainder of life.

Captain Harding, on parole, reached New London on May 4* on a cartel ship from New York carrying in the neighborhood of a hundred American

* Middlebrook, I, 51, assumes that Harding, following his capture "had been a prisoner in England until August, 1781," basing this assumption on a letter from Harding to Trumbull dated Norwich, June 8, 1782, in which, according to Middlebrook, Harding mentions that he was exchanged ten months ago. This letter refers to one of his crew John Lawrence where it reads, "it is about ten months sence he was Exchangd . . ." Middlebrook, II, 262, quotes a scrap apparently from the New London newspaper announcing Harding's arrival there May 4, 1781, on parole. Harding was not taken to England but was promptly paroled after his capture and was exchanged in May, 1782.

prisoners now exchanged. He went on up the river to Norwich where his wife was waiting to welcome him after an absence of two years. It is a pity that there have not been preserved the letters that must have been exchanged during that period, to supply a picture of one mind wrought with difficulties and disappointments, and one filled with sympathy and anxious waiting.

The dismasting of the *Confederacy* marked the beginning of Harding's ill luck. From then on the demon of misfortune seemed to pursue him. It was no easy thing to recover his spirits after the capture of his frigate. It was little consolation that at one time or another virtually every captain in the navy had lost his ship. And then his crew was confined on the prison ship *Jersey*. It was not long after that a prisoner on this ship wrote:

THERE is nothing but death or entering into the British service for me. Our ship company is reduced to a small number (by death and entering into the British service) of nineteen. There is a partial cartel arrived which brought eleven prisoners, and the names of so many as make up that number, sent from Boston by somebody. Damn the villain that trades that way, though there are many such that are making widows and fatherless children—a curse on them all! The commissary told us one and all, to the number of four hundred men, that the whole fault lays on Boston, and we might all be exchanged, but they never cared about us; and he said the commissaries were rogues and liars.

I am not able to give you even the outlines of my exile; but this much I will inform you, that we bury from six to eleven men in a day; we have two hundred more sick and falling sick every day; the sickness is the yellow fever, small pox, and in short everything else that can be mentioned. I had almost forgot to tell you, that our morning's salutation is, "Rebels, turn out your dead!"

Harding was restless at his own inactivity. It irked him to be prevented from continuing an aggressive life in his country's cause. Besides this he was very poorly off financially, having lost whatever he had with him on the *Confederacy* and having returned to find everything he had left at home sadly depreciated in value. He went back to New York and endeavored to effect his exchange but there was no officer of similar rank in the British Navy at that time in the hands of the Americans. It probably did not relieve his already low state of mind to read in the current issue of *Rivington's Royal Gazette*:

THE Congress is finally bankrupt! Last Saturday a large body of the inhabitants with paper dollars in their hats by way of cockades, paraded the streets of Philadelphia, carrying colors flying with a DOG TARRED, and instead of the usual appendage and ornament of feathers, his back was covered with the Congress' paper dollars. This example of disaffection, immediately under the eyes of the rulers of the revolted provinces, in solemn session at the State House assembled, was directly followed by the jailer, who refused accepting the bills in purchase of a glass of rum, and afterwards by the traders of the city, who shut up their

shops, declining to sell any more goods but for gold or silver. It was declared also by the popular voice, that if the opposition to Great Britain was not in future carried on by solid money instead of paper bills, all further resistance to the mother country were vain, and must be given up.

So he returned to Norwich and bided his time. In September he looked on with impotent rage while Arnold burned New London and while the traitor's subordinates massacred the garrison of Fort Griswold across the harbor. He grieved particularly over the breach of faith in seizing the cartel ship which was just coming in from the Sound with exchanged prisoners from the *Jersey*, including members of the crew of the *Confederacy*, all of whom were carried by Arnold back to prison at New York. All this was incontrovertible evidence of the British policy of ashes and corpses.

In October he rejoiced over the news of the surrender of Cornwallis. He enviously watched the privateers fitted out in Norwich and New London and coming back—some of them—with prizes. He was particularly interested in the ten-gun schooner *Young Cromwell* which had brought not less than 16 prizes into port in two years. In November, Harding eagerly accepted a share in her next venture, together with John Cook and Elisha Coit of Norwich. He went to Lebanon and got the governor to authorize cashing a draft from Robert Morris in favor of Harding.

This *Young Cromwell*, under the command of

John Cook, promptly started on another cruise, but on December 14 was captured and taken into New York, the master and crew being incarcerated on a prison ship. In the following May Cook slipped over the side and swam ashore. He escaped through the enemy lines, made his way to Norwich and broke the news of the loss of his ship.

One of the two remaining ships of the Continental Navy sailed up New London Harbor on May 13, 1782—the *Alliance* with John Barry in command—the same Barry who three years before, in command of the Pennsylvania brig *Delaware*, successfully resisted the *Confederacy's* attempt at impressment near Philadelphia. Barry had sailed from L'Orient in January, tried to get into Delaware Bay but was chased by a British sixty-four, and eluding pursuit ran into New London. The British at this time had 70 vessels on the North American station besides the fleets on the Jamaica station and the Leeward Islands.

The Continental Navy consisted of the *Alliance* and the *Deane*. Harding may well have congratulated Barry on his survival.

Still eager to secure release from his parole Harding again went to New York toward the end of May. There was then living with the Hardings at Norwich John Lawrence who had been captain's clerk on the *Confederacy* and had more recently spent several months on the *Jersey* prison ship. Wishing to obtain a considerable sum of money from his

father, then residing in New York, he commissioned his former captain to secure it for him.

General Carleton had just taken over the command from Clinton in New York and Harding found the whole city in an uproar over the prospects of peace. Jersey people were bringing all kinds of provisions to market, shopkeepers were taking on a new lease of life and making a great display of dry goods. Harding was caught by the enthusiasm and advised Mr. Lawrence to send his son the equivalent of the desired sum in dry goods. The suggestion was acted upon and the goods shipped to the eastern end of Long Island.

Harding, having been released from his parole by exchange, started home. Immediately he reached the American lines he found that there was no truth in the peace propaganda and decided he had given the Lawrences bad advice. So he sent a boat over to Long Island, the crew of which secured the goods and brought them to the Connecticut shore. It would seem that he had redeemed his poor advice by getting the merchandise of his young friend safely to him. But, no, his demon of ill luck was still pursuing him.

At this time a smuggling trade prevailed to a great extent between Tories on Long Island and inhabitants of the Connecticut coast. All such merchandise brought to Connecticut must be paid for in coin and the great extent of the practice caused a marked depletion in the amount of hard money held in Con-

necticut. The authorities were seriously disturbed and provided boat patrols to break up the traffic. Harding's outfit, perfectly innocent in intent, was captured and the goods confiscated.

In October, with David Trumbull and John Alden of Lebanon, Harding invested in another seagoing venture, the six-gun Letter of Marque *Diana*, carrying a crew of fifteen men. Being again free to enter the lists he sailed in command, hoping that his run of bad luck was at an end. He might have cruised safely in Long Island Sound and picked up a few small provision vessels but he preferred the high seas and larger game, an almost foolhardy move in view of British omnipotence on the sea since Rodney's defeat of De Grasse.

While at sea he spoke two ships. The first was the American privateer *Prudence*, Capt. Thomas Park, who sold him some sails and rigging picked up at sea, formerly belonging to the British ship *Bedford*. Harding gave Park a certificate for \$800 but was never called upon to redeem it.

The second was a British man-of-war which took him into Jamaica. It is probable that he there met in the reverse rôles of prisoner and captor the Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell who had surrendered to him in Boston Harbor six years before, now brigadier general and governor of Jamaica. At any rate he appears to have been courteously treated and promptly paroled. It is interesting to note that

Commissary for Prisoners of
War Office Kingston Jamaica
15 Dec^r 1782

Permit the Bearer hereof John Harding
Captain in the Merchant Service to depart this
Island without any Hindrance or Molestation
whatsoever He having given his Parole of Honor
not to enter into any Service against his
Britannick Majesty untill regularly exchanged,
which exchange is to be effected in the course
of Six Months from the date hereof otherwise this
to be null & void

Given under my Hand & Seal
at Office the day and Year above
written

Approved
J^r A. Powell.

Chas. O'Leary.
Commissary.
C O

Parole Signed by British Commissary, December 15, 1782

he is now described, not as a naval officer, but as a captain in the merchant service.

Commissary for Prisoners of
Wars Office Kingston Jamaica
15th Decr 1782

PERMIT the Bearer hereof Seth Harding—Captain in the Merchant Service to depart this Island without any Hindrance or Molestation whatsoever He having given his Parole of Honor not to enter into any service against his Britannick Majesty untill regularly exchanged, which exchange is to be effected in the course of Six Months from the date hereof otherwise this to be null & void

Given under my Hand & Seal of Office the day and year above written

Approved

Josh Rowley

CHA. EDW. LEWIS

Commissary

The general condition of American seamen prisoners in Jamaica at this time was shocking. Great Britain was well on the way to peace with the land forces of the United States but was still relentless in her desire to sweep from the seas every ship which did not fly the British flag and particularly every ship flying the new flag of the United States.

A letter from Cape François stated that American sailors

are thrown promiscuously into prison and kept in that horrid and infectious confinement till famine and every concomitant distress obliges them to engage on ships of war and merchantmen or inevitably perish where they are, as there

is not the least provision made for them here, nor no exchange from America.

All the enemy captured by Americans and brought to this place are exchanged for French prisoners, by which means all hopes of relief are cut off from our countrymen, and they are left to make their escape (of which there is but very few instances) or accept the alternative above mentioned . . .

Harding fortunately was soon exchanged and found means to sail to Cape François. Second only to St. Pierre in the French West Indies Cape François had the gay appearance of a capital. In peace times the harbor, guarded by a rocky promontory, was filled with merchant ships from Europe and slavers from Africa. The western portion of the island of San Domingo, now called Haiti, was in the possession of France and the richest of her Caribbean colonies. Plantations of sugar cane were owned by wealthy French colonists and operated by slave labor. Cape François saw many stylish equipages containing ladies of wealth and fashion. It is difficult to realize now the tone and splendor of these West Indian ports during the last half of the eighteenth century.

During the war the Cape was the rendezvous of French warships and American vessels as well. Harding had visited the port many times and would experience no difficulty in locating himself at the Hotel de la Couronne, the meeting place of officers as well as planters, and the most likely place to discover means of transportation to America.

He was considering the offer of command of a French ship bound for America when the *Alliance* sailed up the harbor and Captain Barry came ashore. The latter was delighted to find a friend and fellow officer and poured his troubles into a sympathetic ear.

"I have had a nerve-wracking trip over here from L'Orient," he complained, "with nothing but make-shift officers to help me handle the ship."

"How did that happen?" queried Harding.

"Mutiny," was the response. "First time I ever had any trouble of that kind. We had a very successful cruise going out. Took a good many prizes. The last ones I brought with me into L'Orient as I was getting pretty short-handed. When we got there the lieutenants, mind you, demanded their pay. I had no funds and told them so. They refused to leave port with me without pay so I placed them under arrest and ordered them ashore—Parker, Cooper, Geagan, Buckley, Gardner, and Fletcher."

"I can hardly believe it. I wouldn't have if you hadn't told me yourself."

"Well, I had to sail and I had only one lieutenant left so I promoted some rather inexperienced men. Thank God I didn't meet any British man-of-war on the way. But what am I to do the rest of the way? I am ordered to take on a lot of specie at Havana—and the Britishers are still pretty thick off the coast. How about yourself, Harding? Will you help me out?"

Harding thought a few moments before replying:

"I have just been offered the command of a French privateer but if your need for me is as great as you make it appear I expect my duty lies in your direction."

"Well spoken, Captain Harding!" Barry grasped the other's hand warmly. "You have taken a great load off my mind. Will you come aboard today?"

The *Alliance* with two captains aboard sailed for Havana. Most of the distance they were within sight of British war vessels but the *Alliance* was a fast sailer and showed a clean pair of heels to her pursuers. At Havana Barry found the twenty-gun ship *Duc de Lauzun*, Captain John Green, recently purchased for the Continental Navy. Both vessels were commissioned to carry considerable specie from Havana to the Continental Congress.

Admiral Hood, commanding the British fleet in these waters, had received intelligence of the contemplated shipment of specie on the *Duc de Lauzun* and dispatched the *Alarm*, 32, Captain Cotton; *Sybil*, 28, Captain Vashon; and *Tobago*, 16, Captain Martin; to cruise off Havana and intercept the American vessel.

The *Alliance* and the *Lauzun* with John Brown, secretary of the Admiralty, on board as passenger, cleared Havana on March 6 in company with a Spanish fleet of ten sail, the latter bound across the Caribbean for Porto Cabello. Two days later the British squadron sighted sail and chased. In the ensuing darkness the American vessels parted company

with the Spanish and turned toward the north. The British squadron found itself in the midst of the Spaniards but managed to extricate itself and continued the pursuit. On the tenth at five-thirty in the morning they again sighted the Continental vessels and bore down toward them.

The *Alliance* and *Lauzun* hove about and the Britishers gave chase. The leading British frigate opened up with two or three ineffectual broadsides which the *Alliance* returned. Barry found the *Alliance* was rapidly pulling ahead of the *Lauzun*, the latter proving a dull sailer, so he lay by to let her overtake him. He told Captain Green to throw his guns overboard and put before the wind.

Green threw over all but two or three and pulled to windward. A bow shot from the leading British frigate, *Alarm*, tore through the cabin of the *Alliance*. At this time another sail appeared. Barry raised a signal which was answered revealing the stranger to be a French fifty-gun ship, presumably the *Triton*, recently seen in Havana Harbor. Encouraged by this unexpected assistance the *Alliance's* main topsail was hove to the mast to give the enemy a chance to come up. Harding with Barry went along the main deck cautioning against too much haste in firing.

The second British frigate, *Sybil*, was fast coming up; the third ship, the sloop *Tobago*, was approaching under full press of sail. The French ship lay off, an interested spectator. The *Sybil* got within range of the *Lauzun* and opened with her bow chasers. The

guns Green had saved were mounted in the stern and barked their reply. The *Alarm* and the *Tobago* were lying to windward watching the *Triton*.

Barry ran the *Alliance* across the stern of the *Lauzun* to shield her from the *Sybil's* fire and to give her a chance to get away, at the same time giving the *Sybil* a raking fire. The latter pulled up abreast of the *Alliance* and the action became close and fast. Harding was wounded in the side but stuck to his post. Both ships were getting pretty well damaged although the loss of life was small. The sharp engagement lasted for a period variously estimated at from twenty to fifty minutes. The ships then pulled apart and the *Sybil* rejoined her consorts.

The French ship then approached within hailing distance and Barry asked her captain why he had not come up earlier and joined the action. The rather unsatisfactory reply was to the effect that the French captain feared that the American ships had already been captured and that Barry's signal was a decoy to lead him into a trap.

He now proposed that they give chase and the attempt was made. But the *Triton* proved to be very slow and the *Alliance* was considerably damaged in the rigging, so the effort was soon abandoned. Had the *Triton* come in promptly to the support of the Continental vessels it is probable that one if not all the British ships would have been compelled to strike. The following day the specie which the *Lauzun*

carried was transferred to the *Alliance*, since the former was now virtually unarmed.

The voyage toward Philadelphia was now resumed. The *Alliance*, outsailing her consort, arrived off the Delaware Capes to find the entrance blocked by two British men-of-war. Barry pulled off to the northward and the enemy vessels gave chase. This maneuver offered the *Lauxun* an undisputed entrance into the bay, while the *Alliance* outsailed her pursuers and made the harbor of Narragansett Bay on March 20.

On March 24 the French ship *Le Triomphe* arrived at Philadelphia with the preliminary treaty of peace. There had been little or no fighting on land for more than a year but Britain's traditional demand for supremacy on the seas had kept her naval forces in action to the last moment.

Thus Harding participated with Barry in firing the last gun of the Revolution.

IX

Demon of Misfortune

IN a somewhat disabled condition Harding returned to Norwich and his family for a much-needed rest. He soon discovered in the newspaper the following proclamation published Friday, April 11, 1783:

To all Captains, Commanders, Masters and other officers of Armed Vessels commissioned by the United States in Congress assembled, and to all others whom it shall or may in any wise concern.

According to the orders of the United States in Congress unto me given on the twenty fourth day of this present month of March I do hereby recall all armed Vessels cruizing under Commissions from the United States of America whereof you will please take notice.

Done in the Marine Office of the United States of America this twenty fifth day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three

ROBERT MORRIS

By order

James Read Sec'ty

Harding now wrote to Congress requesting that settlement be made with him for his pay and his disbursements for the *Confederacy*. The request was referred to the agent of the Marine who reported back to Congress that the accounts would come in

course for settlement as soon as a commissioner should be appointed to liquidate and settle the accounts of the Marine Department up to December 31, 1781. Congress was still pretty far behind in its accounts. Morris' report closed with the encouraging suggestion: "For the ballance that shall appear to be due, he will partake of such relief as the public funds may then be in a situation to afford, but that at present the prayer of his memorial can not be complied with."

Being hard pressed for funds to satisfy the immediate needs of his family he sold all his rights to the Wharf Bridge at The Landing (Norwich) and the so-called Water Lots adjoining the bridge. Remunerative employment was difficult to secure. Trained to the sea he saw that his only hope was to take part in the revival of merchant trade. But the past few years had brought him little but misfortune on the ocean. Perhaps his luck would change with the arrival of peace. At any rate something must be tried. He had no capital to invest on his own account so he must hire himself out as a skipper.

On August 22, 1783, the brig *Cato* with Harding in command cleared from the port of New London bound for Surinam with a cargo of provisions and live stock. Now in his fiftieth year and somewhat crippled by wounds and exposure Harding was nevertheless alert and eager for new adventures. In his element on the quarter-deck he surveyed his ship with pride and glanced aloft with a prayer for good fortune.

Surinam! A distant port. Down the Atlantic and across the Caribbean to the coast of South America.

But halfway the tempestuous weather developed into a veritable hurricane. The *Cato's* masts crack and go over the side. All hands clear away the wreckage! The brig rolls heavily in the trough of the sea. No new experience for the captain. His one thought is for the safety of his ship and crew. The live stock becomes unmanageable. All hands stand by to push the animals over the side! The poor creatures struggle and balk but over they go and disappear in the mountainous waves. Eventually the gale blows itself out and the waves subside. Jury masts are rigged and the *Cato* sails in to the haven of Kingston.

The demon of misfortune still pursues. But was it ill fortune or good? The live stock was lost, to be sure, but this was a bad season for cattle. The change of sovereignty of several of the West Indian Islands had produced an unsettled condition. England, since the peace, was shipping boatloads of horses for the island estates. Horses would bring hardly eighty dollars a head. The masts were gone but his ship was saved. Six vessels caught in the same gale were wrecked off Cape Henlopen, thirteen were driven ashore on the little island of St. Kitts, while Harding brought his ship and crew safely in to Jamaica.

He was back home early in December and found a letter from Robert Morris awaiting him. This was in response to a request for a court-martial over the capture of the *Confederacy*. He knew that the law

required a court-martial or court of inquiry whenever a captain lost his ship, and it is probable that he realized that a speedy trial might accelerate the settlement of his accounts. Morris wrote him on Nov. 12, 1783:

I HAVE received your Letter dated on the eighteenth of last month and in Answer inform you that I expect a Court Martial will be assembled at Boston agreeable to adjournment in a few Days from this Time. You will therefore repair thither that they may proceed in due Course on your Business. Mr. Russell is in Possession of a Warrant for that Purpose. If you should not embrace the Opportunity that now exists you cannot expect that another Court will be assembled at so heavy an Expense to the Public for the Purpose unless Congress shall be pleased to order it.

Whether Harding received this letter at too late a date for compliance or whether no court was held at this time it is impossible to determine. Probably the latter as Morris, on April 2, 1784, ordered another court consisting of Captains Samuel Nicholson, Samuel Tucker, and Silas Talbot; Lieutenants Jonathan Maltbie, George House, Jonathan Pitcher, Hezekiah Welsh, and John Fanning; or any five or three of them, "to Enquire into the Conduct of Seth Harding Esq^r late Commander of the Continental Frigate *Confederacy* relative to the loss of said Frigate. . . ."

The court duly sat and rendered the verdict that the conduct of Captain Harding had been proper and becoming his station—a ray of sunshine breaking

through the dark clouds of poverty and distress. He may have suffered pains from sickness and wounds, he may have suffered financial reverses in support of the cause, but his honor was unsullied.

On his next voyage to the West Indies in the fall of the year Harding was accompanied by his twelve-year-old daughter. Saddest blow of all! On the return voyage after six days of illness she died and was buried at sea. Harding pours out his broken heart in a pathetic letter to his wife written November 29, 1784, from Baltimore where he was driven by bad weather.

O MY dear wife my hart is all most broke how Can I say what I am now a going to say to you, about 40 days past I sailed from fort dophin with a grate Number of sick peopel on bord In hopes when I had got a littel to the norhward they wood get beter in stid of that they all grew wors the winds a head and Blowing Verry hard Capt Sage In Compeney We both put back to fort dophin and thur Lye Nine days was obliged to send to the Cape for men men on the 28th day of Last month we sailed O my dear wife O my god our dear Child the day before I saild had a little fever but not so but she walked about, when I saild before she was a little unwel but as soon as I got to sea she was quite harty and wel but the Last sailiing proved to the Conterary O my dear wife my hart Is Broke but my dear wife god has taken our dear Child from us and taken hur hom to him self for one of his dear Children the 6th day after we saild she departed this life and on the 7th she was lowered into the deape she was Buried in the maner she dessired to be before she died she was Verry sensible the whole of hur sickness

and wholly Resind to the will of god two days before she died she to told me she should go to god Verry soon I beged she she would keepe up good spirits and did not dout hur fever in two days wood turn she told me no that she should smile at the ourer of death if it was instantly Com a pon hur she theⁿ asked me to goe to prayer I did she Called all in the Cabin and took her Leave she said my dear tender father tel my dear tender I am happy tel hur she will Com to me tel her I am happy goe hom to hur and live to gether and live to god how Can I write any more on this subject, When she departed this life she went to sleap without any strugel atall she was Very fat and Lost no flesh in hur sickness ther was no alteration but pale and Cold I Raped hur up in Clean linen put cloose on as if she had bin alive and then sewed and pind hur in a sheat with a piller under hur head after all this was don I had a Canvass Coffin made and put hur In that and sewed it up tite and then made a Canvass bag with a wate in it and put to hur feate laide hur on a bord made a short prayer and lowered in the deape whare Hur bodey leyes still undesturbed O my dear wife I will Com to you as quick as posable I was drove hear by bad weather and did expect to be lost and Every sole on board I Expect to sea you in thre weaks from this Mr deneson and Walden are both dead I arived^d hear yesterday and am writeing to Virgina to Mr deneson and Mr Howell I shall put a New mast in fix the Brig and send hur to the owners and sea you as fast as posable— My Expences this Voyage is Verry grate my portage and Trubel much grater did I say trubel O my dear wife my dear self let me sea you and I shall be much more happy Let us now Com together O god of infinite goodness let us Live to god let us die in peace let us be happy hear and hear after— I shall Com by the way of

philidelphia you will hear from me by the next post which will be Next Satturday god be with you hear and hear after and keepe you safe under the wings of his Protection— I am your asureed frend and Husband tel death sepperats our unin

Distressful poverty forces Harding to memorialize Congress setting forth his services and asking for relief. His pleas were handled by several committees of Congress in 1785. Messrs. Grayson, Johnson, and Ellery find that a balance is due him of twelve hundred pounds, rating dollars at seven shillings sixpence. They learn that he has been thrown into jail for inability to pay his debts and recommend that he be paid twelve hundred dollars on account.

Then Messrs. Williamson, McCook, and Foster take a turn at investigation of his case and conclude that, although he appears to have been an active and in many instances a successful officer, there does not appear to be anything in his case giving him preference over any other officers.

Meanwhile Harding is languishing in jail.

Then Joseph Pennell, commissioner of the Marine Office, enters the lists in defense of the Treasury and finds that Harding's accounts are not accompanied by the proper vouchers and when he gets his account in proper shape he cannot expect any preference. The committee indorses Pennell's report and recommends no payment.

Harding probably lost all his papers when the

Confederacy was captured. And he is still in jail—put there by Samuel Goldthwaith of Newport who holds his note for five hundred dollars.

Finally Messrs. Ellery, Johnson, and Howell—who deserve credit for small favors!—insist that five hundred dollars be paid right away and the Treasury complies with its accustomed celerity.

The captain's financial condition was very distressing: cash on hand—apparently nothing; claim against the government fourteen hundred and fifty pounds—doubtful; Prosper Wetmore of Norwich one hundred and eighty pounds—this ought to be good; agents at Montserrat, accumulated in merchant trade before the war, seventeen hundred pounds—no chance; two house lots in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and two hundred acres adjoining—already confiscated.

On the other side of the ledger: note of five hundred dollars already mentioned and presumably satisfied in order to get out of jail; other notes in various amounts to friends in New York and Connecticut aggregating about fourteen hundred pounds. Altogether not a very cheerful outlook.

Captain and Mrs. Harding had removed from Norwich to New York. Mrs. Harding was living at 65 Cherry St., consoled only by letters from relatives left behind in Norwich, until the captain joined her in June upon his release from jail. The family budget again emphasized the necessity of securing employ-

ment and again the merchant trade was the only opportunity in which his experience was of value.

He secured command of the brig *Seaflower* and made several coasting trips with reasonable success. In January, 1786, he carried a cargo to the Virgin Islands, one of the few West Indian ports at this time open to American ships. With fair winds and no mishaps the *Seaflower* entered the narrow channel guarded by a white fort on either side and dropped her anchor in the expansive harbor of Charlotte Amalie. The waters of the bay, before the sea breeze sets in to ruffle the surface, are so transparent that anchors, rocks, shells, and fishes are clearly visible from the deck. There being no wharves at which vessels might lie, the cargo was discharged in the brig's longboat, and then members of the crew were given shore liberty.

The most curious structure on the island is the pirate Blackbeard's castle standing on the hill overlooking the town. Rumor had it that vast treasure was secreted there. The fact that pirates infested the Caribbean Sea and West Indian ports at this time added to the glamor. Many privateers loosely commissioned during the Revolution continued to plunder when legalized piracy was no longer permitted, and with innocent faces and forged papers brought their plunder into a convenient port. One of the many stories of this particular pirate then current, as told by a merchant resident on the island, is worthy of preservation:

ONE morning before sunrise the pirate Blackbeard arrived at this island from one of his numerous voyages among the West India Islands. His vessel was deeply laden with specie, coffee, tobacco, and prisoners taken from an English brig off the island of Jamaica which he scuttled and sunk.

Among the captives was a young lady and a young man who were passengers in the vessel when taken. During the action it seems the young man had behaved with uncommon bravery, and by his great efforts in defending the vessel to the last and by wounding Blackbeard in a personal rencontre having cut off his left hand, he had incurred his most rancorous hatred.

Blackbeard, it seems, had taken a great liking to the young lady and had made his overtures to her which were repelled with the utmost horror. The young lady was betrothed to this young man and their nuptials were to have been celebrated on their arrival at England. They were taken ashore and confined in the castle. At dawn of day the next morning the young man was to die and the young lady, if she did not comply with the wishes of the Tyrant, was to share the fate of her lover.

At midnight by the assistance of an English prisoner at large about the castle they met for the last time, in that eastern tower which overlooks the crags of the Sail Rock passage. The lover in ascending the stairs leading to the tower fell and alarmed the guard who instantly alarmed the castle.

The lovers by this time had met, they instantly rush'd from the tower out upon yonder broad wall. They mingled their tears, and as the Tyrant and his guard approached they (clasp'd in each other arms) sprung from that awful height

and fell upon those crags over which you see the surges now breaking.

The next day they were taken up dead, but their embrace was not loosened, and by order of Blackbeard thrown into the sea.

Danish Citizenship

ON the summit of a hill farther removed from the town stood the elegant mansion of the commandant, surrounded by garden and grounds suggesting Spain, and commanding an unobstructed view of the sea and of the shipping in the harbor below. The commandant was Colonel de Malleville who had occupied the post since 1773.

Here Harding was well received and here he negotiated for Danish citizenship papers. The result is shown in a formidable document of which the following is a translation:

HIS ROYAL MAJESTY'S

to DENMARK AND NORWAY etc

appointed Colonel of the Infantry, General Adjutant,

and

Commandant of the Islands of St. Thomas & St. Johns
in America.

I THOMAS DE MALLEVILLE

Attest that, Seth Harding, who intends to establish himself here, has applied to obtain citizenship, and as he before the secretary of the government has taken the most humble oath of allegiance to my most gracious Hereditary Lord and King, King Christian the Seventh, and by said oath has pledged himself to obedience towards those, who on behalf

of His Majesty are here in command, so be it that I herewith declare the aforesaid Seth Harding a lawful citizen and Danish subject. Therefore he shall enjoy all privileges and liberties under the protection of our illustrious Danish jurisdiction, he shall be protected against all injustice, violence and molestation, in return for which he must conform to the laws and ordinances of the land and conduct himself as it behooves and beseems an honorable Danish subject and (which laws) before God and magistrate intend to defend.

St. Thomas, March 6th, 1786.

Given under the Royal Seal and my signature.

TH. DE MALLEVILLE.

Grevar Funch

The reverse side shows a receipt by the treasury of five Rigsdaler and a certificate that the document had been read before the assembly and entered by the register of deeds in Book K, Folio 132.

What were the reasons for obtaining Danish citizenship? Harding has left no papers which throw any light on the question. Conjecture must be based on a consideration of the conditions at that time affecting the maritime trade of the infant nation.

Independence had deprived the United States of its best foreign markets particularly in the West Indies. No longer English colonies, the new states were prohibited from sending their ships to English possessions. The principle of national monopoly, which had been an important factor in fomenting the American Revolution, still prevailed to the increased detriment of America. France and Spain excluded

Oberst af Infanteriet, General Adjutant
 Commandant ^{og} over Gyldebrande Thomas & Søn
ind i America.

Jeg Thomas Hallerill.
 Gjör Vitterligt. Att Seth Harding, som sig för
 utgar ut för, att, af mig för ordas beqvämhet att vinde Brev
 passet og så som för Governementets Secretaire färdig afslagt
 för allkommande, så Ensligast har till min allernaadigste Erns
 Drott og Konge Kong Christian den Tjunde, og under samma Tid för
 Sändet sig till allvilligast inod den som på sin Högsta Ställe
 har varit afvald, som en ut jag färdig vil som en Lämna
 Seth Harding för en rätt Berget og Jämt Hinder på att Dele
 re och, så som sig till de Privilegier, og för Gud
 som andra så som färdig inod, att som färdig inod
 för inod, som under Protection af Norrlands Privilegier
 samt Jurisdiction under samt inod all för att, Helt
 og Ensligast, som inod som färdig sig ut rätt af för Sändet
 som förordningar og Placator, som sig så som för
 , om så som oration samt Hinder på att vil og anslags
 og som för Gud og för Drottning og för af för
 Givet under det Kongelige Segel og min Händ.
 Thomas Hallerill. 6^{te} Mars 1786.



F. Matheville

Samuel Taylor

Certificate of Danish Citizenship

their recent allies from their colonial dependencies. The Dutch and Danish ports were open, to be sure, but they were in themselves unimportant markets—merely good centers for illicit trade. While some European ports were open, yet the regulations governing the entry of American ships left little inducement to take the risk. The Barbary powers closed the Mediterranean to the commerce of a nation which had no navy, and European navies were loath to protect from these pirates the merchant ships of a nation whose potential rivalry on the seas they cared not to develop.

Congress was making futile attempts to negotiate commercial treaties in Europe, but its own power was insufficient to persuade foreign ministers that it would be able to enforce its stipulations on the individual states. So long as American commerce remained subject to the legislation of thirteen distinct sovereignties Congress could make no headway. Washington pointed out that no nation would treat with a country which was one nation today and perhaps thirteen tomorrow.

Hamilton affirmed that the want of power to regulate commerce was a principal defect in the existing Federal system.

No nation acquainted with the nature of our political association would be unwise enough to enter into stipulations with the United States, by which they conceded privileges of any importance to them, while they were apprised that the engagements on the part of the Union might at any

moment be violated by its members, and while they found from experience that they might enjoy every advantage they desired in our markets, without granting us any return but such as their momentary convenience might suggest.

The disadvantages arising from this situation exerted a powerful influence in favor of the principle that a strong central power should control foreign relations but the conversion of principle into practice was impeded by the conflicting commercial interests of different parts of the Union.

Harding might well have felt that he was seriously handicapped in attempting to engage in foreign trade with the knowledge that he had no strong government behind him, in fact, in the absence of commercial treaties, virtually no government at all. Danish citizenship would give him standing before the Danish courts equal with others professing the same allegiance and superior to those of other nationalities. Furthermore, could he not clear from a Danish port under Danish colors, and armed with this certificate enter the ports of English, French, and Spanish colonies with assurance of the same treatment that would be accorded any Danish citizen?

The Honorable John Bassett Moore in his *Digest of International Law* cites a case which throws some light on the problem. This occurred a few years later during the naval war with France when there was in force an act forbidding commercial intercourse with that nation or her dependencies by any person resi-

dent within the United States or under its protection and making the penalty the forfeiture of vessel and cargo.

One Jared Shattuck was born in Connecticut and had gone to St. Thomas and acquired Danish citizenship. He purchased an American-built vessel, loaded her with American produce and cleared her as a Danish vessel for the French island of Guadeloupe. She was captured by a French privateer but recaptured by the U.S. frigate *Constellation*, Captain Murray, and carried into Martinique (then in possession of England) where the master claimed both ship and cargo as the property of Jared Shattuck a Danish burgher. Captain Murray, on the ground that Shattuck was an American citizen, and had violated the nonintercourse act, sold the cargo and brought the vessel to Philadelphia.

The Supreme Court declared that the vessel was not forfeitable for being employed in trade with a French island and among other reasons gave the opinion, of interest in this connection, that whether a citizen of the United States could divest himself absolutely of that character, except in some manner prescribed by law, was a question not necessary to be decided; that it appeared by the precedents that an American citizen might "acquire in a foreign country the commercial privileges attached to his domicile, and be exempted from the operation of an act expressed in such general terms" as that under consideration; that Shattuck having become "the subject of a foreign

power," this fact, though it might not suffice "to rescue him from punishment for any crime committed against the United States, a point not intended to be decided," yet placed him "out of the protection of the United States while within the territory of the sovereign to whom he has sworn allegiance," and took him "out of the description of the act."

What of Harding's relations with his native country? He had not forsworn allegiance to the United States. There was nothing in the laws or practices of his time which prevented or even frowned upon such a dual allegiance. It was not until the last half of the nineteenth century that a tendency arose to hold any foreign allegiance incompatible with retention of citizenship in the United States, and not until 1907 that the United States, perhaps unwisely, incorporated such a sentiment in the Expatriation Act. Even today there are countries, France for example, in which foreigners are at a disadvantage in the courts unless they have obtained a qualified citizenship usually called domiciliation.

Judge Moore writes:

EXPRESSING my own clear and unhesitating individual opinion, I will say that, taking the law in the United States as it existed in the latter part of the eighteenth century and for the first half of the nineteenth, there is nothing to occasion surprise in the fact that Seth Harding, after his return to the United States, claimed to be and was treated as a native citizen of the United States, and that this would

not even justify the supposition that the fact of his naturalization in St. Thomas in 1786 was concealed by him or was unknown.

Harding's expressed intention to "establish" himself in St. Thomas apparently did not convey the idea of a protracted visit at this time, as his portage bill shows that he paid off his crew in New York on May 9 following.

The various standards of currency in use during this period required a versatile mind for calculation. The young republic as yet had no mint and its printing presses had worked overtime to annihilate the value of its paper money. Man from the earliest times has exchanged the surplus part of the product of his own labor for such parts of the product of others' labor as he may need. Colonial merchants had operated largely on this primitive basis, the most staple article of exchange being rum. The written statement of a transaction necessarily included a money equivalent but this was an indication of relative values rather than an evidence of the exchange of goods for coin. Such specie as there was in the country was an indiscriminate mixture of English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese.

The complications are illustrated by a statement rendered by Harding to his young friend Lawrence who had invested two horses in the former's West Indian voyage:

MR. JOHN LAWRENCE TO SETH HARDING DR.

1786	To 2hh Rum Containing 210 gallons	
	@ 22 stivers per Pe	96 - 2 -
April	To 2hh Containing ditto	17 - 2 - 3
	To freight 2 Horses from New York	87 - 4
	To 5 per c. Commishon on the sale of	
	2 horses sold 218 - 6	10 - 7 - 5
	To dutis @ stablig on two Horses	6 - 4
	To Commishon @ 2½ per c. on 2 hh	
	Rum Cost 113-4-3	3
		<hr/>
		221 - 4 - 2
	Supra	Cr.
	By Cash Rec ^d for 2 Horses	Pe 218 - 6
	Ballance due S. H.	2 - 6 - 2
		<hr/>
		Pe 221 - 4 - 2

The word "stiver" gives the clue to the monetary basis of this transaction. A stiver was a Dutch copper coin of small value. It took six stivers to equal a Spanish real, and eight reales to equal a philippus, the last-named being a relic of Spanish sovereignty over the Netherlands. A philippus had the same value as a piece of eight. The piece of eight bore the numeral 8 and, as its name implies, was equivalent to eight reales. This coin in Spanish old plate was also known as the pillar dollar or Spanish dollar.

The Danish West India islands seem to have abandoned their homeland in designating their currency, borrowing the stiver from Holland, the bit

from the British West Indian possessions, the piece of eight from Spain, and the johannes from Portugal. It took six stivers to equal one good bit, and eight good bits to make a piece of eight, worth at the time sixty-four cents American and hence much less than its Spanish nominal equivalent.

This transaction was stated, therefore, in Pieces of 8/8, Bits, and Stivers. Harding charged 5 per cent commission on P^e 218-6 and called it P^e 10-7-5. An auditor would have corrected that to P^e 10-7-3, and would also have discovered that 2½ per cent on P^e 113-4-3 is P^e 2-6-4 instead of P^e 3. It would look as though the captain had gypped his young friend out of a total of ten stivers or about fourteen cents American.

But the short of the story is that Lawrence traded two horses for two hundred ten gallons of rum, f.o.b. New York. If the horses cost him about fifty Spanish dollars apiece and if he sold his rum for about six shillings the gallon he made better than 200 per cent on his money.

This trading horses for rum was a big and profitable business. The raising of horses for export occupied a goodly share of the time of the farmer in northern states. Horses were now bringing fair prices in the West Indies and rum and molasses could be purchased cheaply. France was now anxious to conclude a commercial treaty with the United States and get the latter to import more French wines and liquors. This might reduce the demand for rum but

would probably be better for the health of the consumer.

Comte de Moustier had just succeeded Lauzun as French minister to the United States and was carrying on an informal correspondence with Washington on this subject. Washington thought the West Indian trade detrimental because "rum, the principal article received from thence, is in my opinion the bane of morals and the parent of idleness." He realized that a decrease in this trade would injure the business of horse raising, but favored raising sheep and black cattle instead of horses.

THEN I could wish to see the direct commerce with France encouraged to the greatest degree; and that almost all the foreign spirits, which we consume, should consist of the wines and brandies made in that country. The use of those liquors would at least be more innocent to the health and morals of the people than the thousands of hogsheads of poisonous rum which are annually consumed in the United States.

In July Harding agreed to carry some specie for Patrick Terrall from New York to Charleston, South Carolina, viz.:

37	Half Johanneses at 8 dollars each	Equal to	296
12	Spanish doubloons at 15 dollars	do	180
7	English Guineas at 4 60/90	do	32.60
1	French ditto		4.49
	Change		1.23

Dollars 514 42/90

Aside from the illustration of comparative value of Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French gold pieces it is interesting to note that copper money was at a premium. It required only ninety cents' worth of copper coins to purchase a silver dollar. Therefore, in adding a column of dollars and cents where the latter were expressed as decimals it was necessary to make allowance for this premium.

A statement of purchases for the brig *Seaflower* made at Charleston the following September is expressed in common or garden pounds, shillings and pence. These purchases were made by the mate Mr. House, as Harding was too sick to attend to business. He was breaking down under the strain of rough sea life, old before his years due to his wounds and continued exposure. Few comforts were to be found about the small merchant vessels and the economy that demanded small crews did not contribute to the ease and peace of mind of the ship's master.

Declining Years

HARDING'S sailing days were over. He was no longer physically able to follow the profession in which he had been almost continually engaged for nearly two-score years. Like many retired shipmasters he was obliged to take in boarders to eke out an existence. He catered particularly to people from his native New England and appears to have conducted a very respectable place. Judge Benjamin Huntington of Norwich stayed with the Hardings at 59 Water Street when attending the Continental Congress in New York.

Judge Huntington wrote to his wife from New York, July 1, 1788:

MR. JOHN SMITH the Barber Sets out this morning for Chelsea* and is the Bearer of this—I arrived at Capt Hardings in 48 hours from the Time I left home had no fair wind and was in a heavy Rain about half the Way yet was very comfortable the whole Passage. Old Mrs Bates and her grand-Daughter Miss Betsey Bunce were on Board & Arrived Safe after an abundance of Sea-Sickness. Capt Culver will sail in four or five Days & by him I shall send you a little Flour—My Lodgings are Convenient & the

* Norwich Landing.

House at Present Very full of New England Gentlemen who Incline to put up at a House of their own Country Man. Capt Harding & his Lady are both in health & send Compliments &c. They have no Family but themselves and two Servants . . .

A reference in another letter to his wife written two years later when a representative from Connecticut in the First Congress of the United States indicated that the Judge was still making the Harding home, now at 171 Queen Street, his headquarters.

This home was sufficiently attractive to satisfy the taste of President Ezra Stiles of Yale College who enters in his diary of September 21, 1789: "Arrived at N. York & put up at the City Tavern: at 4 P. M. accompanied with Judge Sherman paid my Respects to Gen. Washington Presid^t of the United States. Took Lodgings at Capt. Hardings."

Financial straits impelled another petition to Congress for relief. In this Harding again touched on the high spots of his service, alleging he was reduced to penury and want and physically unable to procure support by his own labor. Messrs. Sturges, Hartley, and Burke handled the request but the best they could get out of the House of Representatives was a resolution on July 27, 1790:

THAT there be allowed to the said Seth Harding at the rate of sixty dollars per month for three months and ten days as a captain for services in the Navy of the United States during the late war. Ordered that the residue of said report for granting to the said Seth Harding the commutation of

half pay and bounty of land, agreeable to his rank in the American Navy do lie on the table.

The three months and ten days' term may have represented the period of active service for which the petitioner had received no pay, but speculation on that point is futile as even that much was not granted. The whole resolution did truly lie on the table.

In December Harding went to Philadelphia to press his claim. Messrs. Lawrance, Huntington, and Schureman then took a hand in the affair and asked Congress to pass a resolution assigning the petitioner a lump sum as a gratuity for losses and for "the active beneficial and meritorious part he has taken in securing the rights and independence of America." The record shows that it passed—in the negative.

So keeping lodgers produced the only income for Captain and Mrs. Harding. Seven years later he again tried his luck but Congress was too busy with the naval war with France to pay any attention. In the preceding five years, following the establishment of the French republic, France had many sympathizers among Americans in her war with European nations although more recently French depredations on American commerce had lost her these friends. For some reason which the available records fail to disclose Harding was suspected of favoring the French cause. The only record about this time is the following:

THIS may certify that I, David G. Hubbard of the City

of New York Merchant, have Boarded with Capt Seth Harding in the City of New York afforesaid, since the 29th day of August One Thousand Seven Hundred & Ninety four, in which time have been absent from the City of New York not exceeding five months, I hereby certify that since my residence with said Harding he has very uniformly kept a quiet & peaceful House, and at times entertained many Boarders, most of whom were from the State of Connecticut, and generally men of sobriety, and good Deportment; I further Certify that there has not to my recollection but One of those beings called Frenchmen Boarded with said Harding during my residence with him, his name was Bocaz, married and settled in New London State of Connecticut.

I do further Certify that I am fully and clearly of Opinion said Harding has not, neither Directly or Indirectly been connected or conversant with any Frenchmen either on Business Political or otherwise, since I have known him, and that said Harding has not in any one instance been the Promoter or Instigator of any Meeting or Society of Men for the purpose of making Enemies to the Government of the United States, neither have I known said Harding to attend any Political or other Meeting than Divine Worship, Except in one Instance, which was with a number of Respectible Officers for the purpose of consulting measures to fortify the Harbour & Port of New York. Dated at New York this Twenty third day of July A. D. 1798.

DAVID G. HUBBARD.

James Watson certifies to the character of Hubbard, and both Harding and Hubbard are endorsed by John Callahan.

This is dated a few days after the passage of the famous Alien and Sedition laws:

IF any person shall . . . utter or publish . . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing . . . against the government . . . to stir up sedition . . . or to excite any unlawful combinations . . . for opposing or resisting any law of the United States or any act of the President . . . or to aid . . . any hostile designs or any foreign nation . . . such person being thereof convicted . . . shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

Harding was a follower of Jeffersonian principles and may have expressed his disapproval of the attitude of the administration of John Adams. It was not a difficult matter to twist any unfriendly criticism into a violation of this Sedition Law. So inimical was it to the principles of liberty and free speech that it became the epitaph of the Federal party.

Congress found time in April, 1798, to pass an act for the relief of refugees from the British provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia. In substance it provided an allowance of land to those residents of the British provinces who had sacrificed their properties by active participation in the cause of the revolted colonies. After a year's consideration of Harding's latest petition a report was made to Congress which is quoted to show that some of the authorities at Federal headquarters recognized the value of Harding's sacrifices and services:

THE Secretary of War, and the Secretary and Comptroller of the Treasury, in pursuance of the act passed on the Seventh day of April, 1798, entitled "An act for the relief of the Refugees from the British Provinces of Canada, and Nova Scotia" Respectfully submit to Congress the following special

REPORT, ON THE CLAIM OF SETH HARDING.

The following facts appear to be satisfactorily established.

1st. That the Claimant removed from Norwich in Connecticut, in the year 1771 to Liverpool in Nova Scotia, and carried with him personal property of the value of about two thousand dollars.

2d. That he was for several years a Member of the General Assembly and in the year 1773, was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and one of the justices of the court of common pleas for Queens County, in said Province:—that he lived in apparently easy and prosperous circumstances, on an income which is declared by the claimant to have amounted to about five hundred dollars per annum.

3d. That he privately retired from Nova Scotia, in August 1775, with an inconsiderable proportion of his property;—that the residue left behind was sold at public auction by the commander of a British sloop of war, as the property of an enemy, and that no part thereof was afterwards recovered by the claimant.

4th. That the intention of the claimant as declared at the time of his return to Connecticut, was to engage actively on the side of this country, in the war which had then commenced with Great Britain.

5th. That the claimant during the late war commanded the Brigantine *Defence*, equiped by the state of Connecti-

cut; also the state ship *Oliver Cromwell*, and was afterwards promoted to command the United State Frigate *Confederacy*;—that in every service he was distinguished as a brave enterprizing and successful commander, until the year 1781, when the *Confederacy* was captured by a greatly superior force, and that the court of enquiry who investigated the causes of said capture reported that the conduct of the claimant had been proper and becoming his station.

6th. That early in 1776, while he was commander of the Brigantine *Defence*, the claimant captured three vessels having on board a regiment of troops; five thousand stands of arms, besides supplies of ammunition, tents and military cloathing, which at that time were of essential importance to the public defence. That subsequently other valuable prizes were made, and that during the war about eleven hundred soldiers and seamen were captured by vessels commanded by the claimant.

7th. That owing to the depreciation of the public currency, the insolvency of prize agents, and other casualties the claimant has at no time derived the emoluments, which might have been reasonably expected as the result of his perseverance, bravery and good fortune as a naval commander.

8th. That the claimant is now in a state of poverty, unable from age to support himself by exertions of industry; and that the representation made by himself is believed to be true; namely that he is indebted more than one thousand dollars chiefly in consequence of sickness in his family.

Upon the facts before stated, and with reference to the scale of compensation established by the act of Congress above recited, we respectfully submit it as our opinion that

a grant ought to be made in favor of Seth Harding, of two thousand acres of land, to be located in such manner as Congress may be pleased to prescribe.

All which is respectfully submitted by

JAMES M'HENRY,
Secretary of War.

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
Secretary of the Treasury.

JOHN STEELE,
Comptroller of the Treasury.

Treasury-Department, }
February 15th, 1800. }

The Senate passed a bill authorizing the claimant to locate certain lands in the territory northwest of the Ohio River but the House failed to concur. Perhaps the House realized that far-distant wild land was nothing more than a white elephant to a claimant who was too crippled to support himself by manual labor.

Harding became exasperated or desperate and wrote on March 21, 1800, to John Langdon, formerly naval agent at Portsmouth and now a member of Congress:

I REC'D your kind letter 9th Instant and Sir it is with pleasure I rec'd it from a gentleman of Candor. I find a grate many men in the world who appear verry frindly and pretend to forward my matters in Congress with all possible dispatch—it was Sir hinted to me the other day, there was a gentleman in the Senate who pertended he would render me all the service in his power, he verry often

regrateed there was not that regard paid to those gentlemen who helped to forward our Independence, but it was not in his power to do it all himself, therefore they had bin verry much neglected—the question was asked who they were, he said Capt. Harding was one of them, but he was so grate a dimecrat, it was not so much mater about him. My God is it posable, after I have sacrificed the peace and happiness of my family, and by that means brought myself to penury and want, and after all to be called to an acct. because my judgement did not coincide with—[illegible]. I will say no more for fear it may be treason—

Perhaps that was a good place to write illegibly as the Sedition Law was still in force.

Reduced to accept the charitable assistance of his relatives and friends Harding's situation was indeed pitiable. His case was again before the Senate in 1806. Senator Bradley had charge of the bill which provided for payment out of the navy pension fund. J. Q. Adams secured a postponement—not that he objected to paying some compensation, but because he thought it should not come out of the navy fund, with which opinion the Secretary of the Navy appeared to agree. Adams entered in his diary under date of February 10:

. . . the bill for the relief of Seth Hardinge was taken up. Bradley, who brought it in, moved its postponement and reference of the petition and papers to the Secretary of the Navy, which I opposed and Bradley withdrew his motion. I then moved an amendment, by which Captain Hardinge should be placed on the pension list generally,

but not quartered on the navy fund. This amendment I supported with all my power, but it was negatived by a majority of two to one. I then called for the yeas and nays on the bill, and they were eighteen to nine, and four members absent.

The House read the bill twice and let it die—to be resurrected a year later when it finally passed in both Senate and House:

THAT the Secretary of the Navy be, and hereby is directed to place upon the Navy list of invalid pensioners of the United States Seth Harding late a Captain in the Navy of the United States who has been so disabled in the line of his duty while in service that he is unable to support himself by labor and who shall be entitled to receive one half his monthly pay of a Captain in the Navy to commence on the first day of January, 1804, agreeably to the provisions contained in the Act entitled "An Act for the better government of the Navy of the United States."

This bill received the approval of President Jefferson on February 6, 1807, nearly a quarter century after the Treaty of Paris had secured the independence of America.

Now that Harding had received a belated recognition of his services in the form of a competence for his declining years, he moved to Schoharie, New York, where a long patriotic and eventful career closed November 20, 1814.

During the World War the United States government built many war vessels of the destroyer type,

naming several of them after naval officers who commanded Continental frigates during the Revolution. For obvious reasons the launching and christening were performed privately and with little or no publicity.

The U.S.S. *Harding*, known as Destroyer No. 91, was launched at the yards of the Bethlehem Ship Corporation in San Francisco July 4, 1918. Thus is the name of Captain Seth Harding perpetuated in the United States Navy.

Appendixes

I

Crew of the Defence

THERE follows a list of those who served under Captain Harding on the *Defence*. They were all paid off as of November 15, 1776, excepting those showing date of discharge. By this date and by the date of entry into service can be determined the engagements participated in by the individual. The *Defence* returned to New London from her initial cruise up Long Island Sound (Chapter I) on May 24. She returned from her exploits in Massachusetts Bay (Chapter II) on July 14. The new *Defence* returned from her cruise on the high seas (Chapter III) on October 3, her last prize reaching port on October 10. The name of Justin Jennings, Captain's Clerk, who lost a leg in the engagement of June 16 and was put ashore at Boston, does not appear hereon. He was later pensioned and still alive in 1832.

[*Revolutionary War Archives, Connecticut State Library*]

A PAY LIST OF CAPT^N HARDING^S MEN BELONGING TO THE BRIGG "DEFENCE" COLONY SERVICE

[*Rearranged alphabetically for convenience of reference*]

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Dis- charge 1776</i>
Alden, James	Seam	Nov. 10	
Alden, Jon ^a	Sailm	May 29	
Allin, Gabril	Seaman	Mar. 12	
Allin, Gideon	Mareen	Mar. 13	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Discharge 1776</i>
Asband, Sam	G ^r B ^s	Mar. 3	
Balden, Sam ^{ll}	Seam	Aug. 20	
Barton, James	Seaman	Apr. 10	July 22
Bartram, Eben ^r	1 st	Mar. 3	
Bartran, Joseph	Seaman	Mar. 6	
Battison, George	Mareen	Mar. 16	
Battison, Joseph	Mareen	Mar. 10	
Bebe, Edward	1 st Mate	Mar. 4	
Billings, Henry	3 ^d Lieut	Aug. 20	
Bolton, W ^m	Seaman	June 25	
Bond, John	Seam	Aug. 20	
Brown, Edward	Seaman	Mar. 17	
Brown, John*		May 1	Aug. 23
Brown, Prosper	Q ^r Mas ^{tr}	Aug. 20	
Brown, Solomon*		May 1	Aug. 23
Buckley, Abraham	Seaman	Mar. 16	
Buckly, Eleazer	Boy	Mar. 13	
Bur, Seth	Boy	Mar. 13	
Burnett, W ^m	Boy	Mar. 13	
Burnham, Josiah	Master	Apr. 1	
Bushnal, Ezra	Surg ⁿ Mate	Mar. 10	
Butler, Francoes	Seaman	Nov. 8	
Cable, Abraham	Mareen	May 24	
Calkins, Simon	Copper	Aug. 20	
Cam, Moses	Seam	May 29	
Canfield, Ezekiel	Seaman	Mar. 21	Nov. 8
Chatfield, John	Pilote	Mar. 10	
Clefford, Israel	Mareen	Mar. 10	Oct. 12
Colkins, Jon ^a	Seaman	May 21	
Connor, Jn ^o	Seaman	May 26	July 22
Cottle, Isaac	Seaman	May 29	Nov. 8
Crage, Robert	Gun ^r M ^t	May 29	Aug. 23
Crandal, Tho ^s	Seam	May 18	Aug. 15
Curtis, Peter	Seaman	Nov. 9	
Dagget, Silas	Seam	June 7	July 24

* Deserted.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Dis- charge 1776</i>
Daggett, Nathan	Pilote	June 7	
Daggett, West	Boy	Aug. 28	
Darrow, Benjamin	Boy	Mar. 16	
Darrow, Jon ^a	Carpen ^{tr}	Mar. 13	
Davis, James	Seam	Aug. 20	
Davis, Jn ^o	Seam	Aug. 20	
Desbrow, Simon	Seam	Mar. 12	
Disbrow, Henery	Mareen	Mar. 25	Oct. 18
Disbrow, Russil	Seaman	Mar. 12	
Dudley, Guilbard	Mareen	Mar. 24	
Dunham, Cornelius	Seaman	June 7	
Dyar, Calob	Qt ^r Gun ^r	June 5	
Elwood, Isaac	Mareen	Mar. 21	
Elwood, Thomas	1 st Serjt ^t	Mar. 10	
Ervin, Jared*		May 8	Aug. 23
Fowler, Robert	Seam	Aug. 20	
Fry, Richard*		Apr. 11	July 14
Geacoks, Jesse	2 ^d Mate	Apr. 12	
Gee, George*		Mar. 6	Aug. 5
Gold, Benj ^a	Boy	Mar. 13	
Graystock, Thomas	Seaman	Mar. 6	
Greer, James	Seaman	Aug. 21	Nov. 10
Griffin, Morris	Seaman	Mar. 21	June 22
Harding, Seth	Capt	Feb. 24	
Harding, Turner		Aug. 20	
Harrison, W ^m		Mar. 6	Died June 23
Hatch, Zephaniah	Seaman	May 18	July 23
Hays, Stephen	Mareen	Mar. 24	
Hazelton, Jn ^o	Qt ^r Gun ^r	June 7	July 24
Higgins, W ^m	1 st Mate	Mar. 6	
Holms, Jn ^o	Seam	Nov. 8	
Hooks, W ^m	Seaman	May 29	
House, Rial M.	Phifer	Mar. 10	
Hunt, Richard	Mareen	Apr. 10	July 29
Hutchenson, Tho ^s	Gun ^r	May 18	

* Deserted.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Discharge 1776</i>
Ingraham, Edward*		May 30	Aug. 23
Jennings, James	4 th Serjt	Mar. 10	
Jervis, Jon ^a	Qt ^r Gun ^r	May 21	
Jervis, Nathaniel	Seaman	May 21	
Jinings, David	4 th Q ^r M	Mar. 13	
Judson, James	Mareen	Mar. 25	Aug. 29
Kazer, Jn ^o	Seam	Aug. 20	
Lewis, Christopher	Seam	Aug. 20	
Lewis, David	Boat ^{sn}	Mar. 13	
Lewis, John	6 th Q ^r M	July 1	
Lewis, Shearman	1 st Q ^r M ^t	Mar. 13	
Luce, Barzilla	Seaman	June 7	
Maden, James*		July 1	Aug. 1
Mans, Charles	5 th Serjt	Mar. 10	
Manuel, Anthony	Seam	July 1	
Martin, Lawrance	Yeoman B ^s	May 28	
May, Ebinezar	Qt ^r Gun ^r	May 21	Oct. 2
May, Jn ^o	Seaman	Mar. 6	
Meaker, David	Mareen	Mar. 24	
Menter, Tho ^s	Seam	Aug. 9	
Midelbrooks, Oliver	Seaman	Mar. 6	Nov. 8
Minor, Joseph	3 ^d Serjt	Mar. 10	
Minor, Richardson	Arm ^r	Mar. 13	July 28
Mitts, Jn ^o	Seam	May 29	
Moor, James	Cook	May 29	
Morris, Tho ^s	Seam	July 1	
Moyer, George	Seaman	May 7	
Murry, W ^m	Seam	Aug. 18	
Negro, George	Seaman	Apr. 10	
Newcomb, George	5 th Q ^r M	June 8	
Nicholson, Eben ^r	Capt Clark	June 25	
Norris, Samuel	Seaman	June 7	
Norton, David	Seaman	June 7	Nov. 8
Parret, David	Mareen	Mar. 15	
Patchin, David	Mareen	Mar. 24	

* Deserted.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Dis- charge 1776</i>
Patchin, Martin	Seaman	Mar. 21	
Peas, Pelatiah	Seam	Aug. 28	
Peas, Stephen	Seam	Aug. 28	
Plum, Justis	Mate	Mar. 13	Oct. 15
Poor, Jon ^a	Seaman	May 1	
Quy, Lebbeus	Seam	Aug. 20	
Raymong, Samuel	Mareen	Mar. 24	
Reed, Curtis	Steward	Mar. 6	
Reed, Thomas	Seaman	Mar. 21	June 27
Rockwell, Benj ^a	Seam	Aug. 20	
Rosson, John*		July 1	Aug. 1
Rowley, Joseph	Seaman	Nov. 9	
Shelden, W ^m	Seam	Aug. 20	
Silsby, Jon ^a	2 ^d Q ^r M	Mar. 13	
Skiff, Vallintine	Seam	May 29	
Smedly, Sam ^{ll}	2 ^d Lieut	Mar. 10	
Smith, Asail	1 st p. Mast.	Apr. 15	
Spencer, Simeon	Arm ^r M ^t	June 15	
Spicer, Abbe	Seam	Aug. 20	
Squire, Joseph	Lieut Marines	Mar. 6	
Squire, Nathan	Mareen	Mar. 6	
Squires, Isaac	Yeoman	Mar. 13	
Steward, John*		Mar. 17	Aug. 23
Still, John	Mareen	Mar. 21	
Sturgis, Abraham	Boy	May 24	Nov. 9
Swords, Francis	Boy	Mar. 13	
Taylor, Henry	B Mate	Mar. 25	
Taylor, Samuel	Mareen	Mar. 24	
Thomas, Joseph*		May 12	June 21
Thorp, Andrew	3 ^d Q ^r M	Mar. 13	
Thorp, Peter*		May 24	Aug. 23
Tupper, Nathan	Marene	May 24	July 24
Veale, Guillam	Cockswain	Mar. 6	
Walker, Josiah	Mareen	Mar. 13	Oct. 15
Warsan, John	Carp ^{tn}	Mar. 13	

* Deserted.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank or Rating</i>	<i>Date of Entry 1776</i>	<i>Date of Dis- charge 1776</i>
Wells, Gideon	Surgeon	Mar. 10	Aug. 20
Whitemore, Joseph	Seaman	Mar. 6	
Whiting, Nehemiah	2 ^d Serjt	Mar. 10	
Willey, Josiah	Seam	Nov. 8	
Williams, W ^m	Seam	Nov. 9	
Woodburn, Francoes	Mareen	Apr. 11	
Young, James*	Copper	Mar. 6	July 22
Young, James	Seam	June 15	

* Deserted.

II

Crew of the Oliver Cromwell

THESE follows a list of those who served under Captain Harding on the Connecticut ship *Oliver Cromwell*. The *Cromwell* sailed from New London May 21, 1777, and finished her cruise at Boston September 10 (Chapter III). Enlistments entered May 26 to June 13 inclusive were made at New Bedford. Those entered July 22 and 26 must have been from the captured crew of the prize *Restoration*. The desertions after May 21 were effected at New Bedford.

[*Revolutionary War Archives—Connecticut State Library*]

PAY ROLL OF OFFICERS AND MEN BELONGING TO THE SHIP "OLIVER CROMWELL" 1777

[*Rearranged alphabetically for convenience of reference*]

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Aaron, Thomas*	Seaman	May 3	
Adams, Samuel	Quartermaster	May 26	Oct. 14
Alden, Joab	Gunner's Yeoman	Apr. 24	Sept. 22
Anderson, James	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Baldwin, William	Quartermaster	May 27	Oct. 14
Barker, Archelaus	Seaman	Apr. 28	Oct. 14
Bartholomew, Samuel	Marine	May 13	Sept. 22
Beebe, Barzaleel	Armourer	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Beers, James	Marine	May 1	Oct. 14
Beers, Josiah	Marine	Apr. 26	Sept. 22

* Deserted.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Bowman, Henry	Seaman	May 18	Sept. 22
Boyle, John	Quartermaster	May 27	Oct. 14
Brewster, Darius	Boy	May 11	Sept. 22
Brown, James	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Brown, Prosper	Quartermaster	May 16	Sept. 22
Burke, Thomas	Seaman	July 22	Oct. 14
Calkins, James	Marine	May 5	Sept. 22
Chapman, Douglas	Boy	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Chapman, John	Lieutenant	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Chapman, Phinehas	Carpenter's Mate	May 17	Oct. 8
Chatfield, John	Pilot	Apr. 14	Sept. 26
Cleverly, John	Boy	July 22	Oct. 14
Conner, Patrick	Seaman	June 10	Sept. 22
Cook, Elihu	Marine	May 2	Sept. 22
Craige, John	Boatswain's Mate	May 8	Oct. 14
Culver, Edward	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Curtis, Frederick	Master at Arms	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Curtis, Jephthah	Marine	May 17	Sept. 22
Curtis, Samuel	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Cuyler, Teleman	Seaman	May 7	Oct. 14
Daggett, Nathan	Pilot	May 19	Oct. 14
Daggett, Sylvanus	Boy	June 6	Sept. 22
Daggett, West	Boy	June 6	Sept. 22
Dana, Charles	Marine	June 2	Sept. 22
Day, James	Lieut Marines	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Dexter, Elnathan	Marine	May 2	Sept. 22
Driscoll, Philip	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Edwards, George	Boy	May 27	Oct. 14
Elderkin, James	Gunner's Mate	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Ellis, Benjamin	Surgeon	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Ellis, William	Seaman	June 6	Oct. 14
Everett, James	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Fitch, Theophilus	Boy	Apr. 20	Oct. 14
Foot, Heli	Marine	May 6	Sept. 22
Ford, James	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Foy, Samuel	Seaman	Aug. 22	Sept. 22
Frisbie, Caleb	Master	Apr. 24	Oct. 14
Frisbie, Isaac	Seaman	May 5	Sept. 22
Frisbie, Josiah	Marine	May 5	Sept. 22
Gates, Oliver	Marine	May 13	Sept. 22
Geer, Robert	Marine	May 9	Sept. 22
Goging, James*	Seaman	May 27	
Gordon, Robert	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Grant, Peter	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Graystock, Thomas*	Seaman	Apr. 14	
Green, Daniel	Seaman	Aug. 22	Sept. 22
Griffin, James N.	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Groundwater, Thomas	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Hall, William	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Harris, William	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Harrison, Butler	Seaman	May 8	Sept. 22
Harrison, Justus	Seaman	May 8	Sept. 22
Hatch, Zephaniah	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Hebbard, Timothy	Marine	Apr. 27	Sept. 22
Herrick, Ephraim	Steward's Mate	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Higgins, William	Boatswain's Mate	May 3	Oct. 14
Hilliard, Azariah	Seaman	May 3	Oct. 14
Hilliard, James	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Hillman, George	Pilot	June 1	Sept. 22
Hillman, Peleg	Quartermaster	June 1	Oct. 14
Hoadley, Ralph	Midshipman	Apr. 27	Oct. 14
Holbrook, Thomas	Seaman	May 13	Sept. 22
Holmes, William	Seaman	Apr. 20	Sept. 22
Holt, Samuel	Serjeant	May 13	Sept. 22
Huffman, Timothy	Marine	May 2	Sept. 22
Hunt, Henry	Yeoman	May 27	Sept. 22
Hunt, Henry	Seaman	May 27	Sept. 22
Hunter, Turtle	Seaman	May 8	Oct. 14
Hussey, Benjamin	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14

* Deserted.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Ingraham, William	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Jackson, Francis*	Seaman	Apr. 20	
Jacobs, John	Seaman	May 10	Oct. 14
James, Ralph Alsop	Midshipman	June 9	Oct. 14
Jennings, Nathan	Marine	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Jennings, Nathaniel	Marine	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Johnson, Alpheus*	Seaman	Apr. 27	
Jones, Thomas	Boy	July 22	Oct. 14
Keney, Thomas*	Seaman	Apr. 20	
Kennedy, Henry	Coxswain	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Kenney, Charles	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Kimbalin, William	Sailmaker	June 1	Oct. 14
Kimball, Richard	Marine	Apr. 27	Sept. 22
Kinyon, Arnold	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Knowlton, Thomas*	Seaman	Apr. 24	June 7
Lamb, William	Seaman	July 26	Oct. 14
Laurence, Rosamus	Extra Seaman	May 31	Oct. 14
Lee, Stephen	Mate	May 31	Oct. 14
Lewis, Abel	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Lewis, Philo	Boy	May 1	Oct. 14
Lewis, Shirman	Midshipman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Lillie, Richard	Seaman	June 6	Oct. 14
Linslie, John	Marine	May 2	Oct. 14
McGuire, Peleg*	Seaman	May 26	
Mackentosh, David	Gunner	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
McVey, James	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Manuel, John	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Marbell, William	Carpenter	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Marks, Robert	Seaman	July 22	Oct. 14
Marsh, William	Serjeant	Apr. 14	Sept. 27
Moore, Michael	Seaman	June 6	Sept. 22
Morris, Andrew	Midshipman	May 28	Oct. 14
Morris, Edmund	Marine	May 7	Sept. 22
Morris, James	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22

* Deserted

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Mortimer, John	Seaman	July 22	Oct. 14
Mouterdier, John	Marine	May 26	Sept. 22
Murphy, Timothy	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Murray, James*	Seaman	May 27	
Negus, John	Arm ^{ts} Mate	May 2	Sept. 22
Norton, David	Quartermaster	June 1	Sept. 22
Odell, William	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Olcott, John Easton	Marine	Apr. 26	Oct. 14
Parker, Timothy	Lieutenant	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Parry, Henry	Cooper	May 26	Oct. 14
Parsons, John	Boy	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Pease, Asaph	Yeoman	June 1	Sept. 22
Pickle, Hendrick	Marine	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Pierce, Henry*	Seaman	May 30	
Pool, Davis	Boatswain	May 8	Oct. 14
Pullman, John	Marine	May 8	Sept. 22
Quin, Felix	Seaman	May 26	Oct. 14
Reed, Curtis	Midshipman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Rees, John	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 1
Rice, Thomas	Mate	May 3	Oct. 14
Rockwell, Benjamin	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Rogers, Thomas	Marine	May 5	Sept. 22
Rogers, Timothy	Surgeon's Mate	Apr. 28	Oct. 14
Rogerson, David	Seaman	July 22	Oct. 14
Rosson, John*	Seaman	May 26	
Russell, William*	Seaman	May 3	June 7
Scranton, Joab	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Sears, Obadiah*	Seaman	May 8	
Setchell, John	Boy	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Setchell, Jonathan	Quartermaster	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Sharpe, Isaac	Seaman	May 2	Oct. 14
Silliman, Samuel	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Smith, Benjamin	Quartermaster	May 26	Sept. 22
Smith, Ebenezer*	Seaman	May 5	

* Deserted.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Qualities</i>	<i>Time of En- try 1777</i>	<i>Time of Discharge 1777</i>
Smith, Epaphras	Steward	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Smith, John	Lieutenant	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Smith, Stephen	Seaman	Apr. 28	Oct. 14
Snow, Ivory	Boy	May 26	Sept. 22
Spencer, Elijah	Marine	Apr. 27	Sept. 22
Spooner, Judah P.	Clerk	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Stevens, Noah	Marine	May 2	Sept. 22
Stilken, George	Marine	May 13	Sept. 22
Swain, Boston	Seaman	June 13	Oct. 14
Swan, Nathaniel	Boy	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Swasey, Anthony	Seaman	June 6	Sept. 22
Taafe, Nicholas*	Seaman	Apr. 22	
Taylor, Henry	Cook	May 10	Oct. 14
Taylor, John	Seaman	July 8	Oct. 14
Teal, Timothy	Seaman	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Teleder, Wiliam	Seaman	June 6	Sept. 22
Walker, Josiah	Yeoman	Apr. 18	Sept. 22
Wall, James	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Walton, Henry	Drummer	Apr. 14	Sept. 22
Walton, John	Fifer	May 13	Sept. 22
Webster, Samuel*	Seaman	Apr. 20	
Whaley, Theophilus	Seaman	May 3	Oct. 14
Whelden, Thomas	Mate	June 1	Sept. 22
Willard, John	Seaman	May 26	Sept. 22
Wilson, Thomas*	Seaman	Apr. 14	
Wimberley, James	Seaman	July 22	Oct. 14
Wolcott, Josiah	Marine	May 27	Sept. 22
Wood, Alexander	Marine	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Woodworth, Abel	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Woodworth, Jonathan	Midshipman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14
Worthylake, George	Seaman	Apr. 14	Oct. 14

Total pay roll £ 2184 - 18 - 4¾

Commissions 32 - 15 - 8

£ 2217 - 14 - 0¾

* Deserted

(Signed) SETH HARDING

III

Crew of the Confederacy

OFFICERS of Continental frigate *Confederacy* when she sailed from New London May 1, 1779, on her maiden voyage (Chapter V).

Captain Seth Harding

First Lieutenant Simon Gross

Second Lieutenant Thomas Vaughan

Third Lieutenant Stephen Gregory

Master John Tanner

Carpenter Ebenezer Storer

Boatswain James Hayes

THE following members of the crew (rearranged alphabetically) on April 27, 1779, appointed Captain Andrew Perkins of Norwich Landing their attorney and agent to collect prize money.

Adams, Edward

Ames, John

Ashbro, Simeon

Baker, Joseph

Ballard, Rufus

Bates, Thomas

Bats, Thomas

Beckwith, William

Bebee, Benjamin

Bebee, Gideon

Bebee, Walter

Bell, William

Bill, Gurdon

Bordan, Elnathan

Brooks, Charles

Brown, James

Brown, John

Bury, William

Calkins, Frederick

Campen, Stephen

Canady, Seth

Cerrick, Dennis

Chappill, Alpheus

Clarydge, Francis

Cleveland, Curtis

Cleveland, Edward

Cleveland, Silas

Companion, James

Comstock, Jehiel

Connel, Jeremiah

Cortney, John

Crandall, Thomas

Culver, Levy

Curtis, Frederick

Curtis, Samuel

Daniels, Jesse

Darling, Joseph

Davis, Stephen

Davish, Elijah

Dennis, Samuel

Durfee, Asa

Elderkin, Frederick

Elderkin, James

Fagee, William

Fardaban, Thomas

Fish, William

Fitch, Theophilus

Fowler, Robert

Fox, Joshua

Frayzer, John

Frazer, Robert

Fuller, Benjamin

Fuller, Elisha

Gardiner, John

Giles, Christopher*	Miller, Charles	St. John, Gideon
Godale, John	Miller, Joseph	Samson, David
Griffing, John	Mooney, John	Sanders, John
Haley, John	Mory, Lewis	Sandling, James
Hampton, Thomas	Negro, Harry	Sillivan, Thomas*
Haselton, John	Nichols, Elisha	Silsby, John
Healey, John	Osborn, Jonathan	Simons, Amasa
Hendry, Thomas	Pease, Richard, Jr.	Simons, Jonathan
Hinman, Nathan	Peters, Coms	Sip, Jesse
Holman, Thomas	Petley, William	Smith, John
Holt, Samuel	Pgee, Jonas	Smith, Joseph, I
Huntington, Samuel	Pollon, Peter	Smith, Joseph, II
Hyde, Ebenezer	Post, Jedediah	Spicer, Abel
Hyde, Phineas	Powers, W.	Spicer, Nathan*
Icaisky, Jesse	Prestonham, Morris	Squires, Charles
Jacobs, John	Prince, Edward W.	Stone, William
Jacobs, Silas	Prolley, William	Storer, James
Johnson, Ichabod	Quocoto, Fortuno	Swan, Nathaniel
Keis, John	Rabey, John	Sydleham, John, Sr.
Langster, Peter	Ranold, George	Sydleham, John, Jr.
Lankett, Joseph	Raymond, William	Touner, Ebenezer
Latham, Amos	Richards, Benjamin	Tracy, Solomon
Lathrop, Hezekiah	Richards, Jedediah	Tribby, John
Lawrence, John	Ripley, Pyram	Tufts, Joseph
Mackey, William	Roath, Jonathan	Tuthill, David
Mackintosh, David, Jr.	Roberts, Samuel	Tweed, Daniel
McCarthy, Daniel	Robertson, John	Unchus, Daniel
McMullen, James	Robins, Jeremiah	Wade, Ebenezer
McSmith, John*	Rogers, Oliver	Willcocks, Joseph
Marsh, William	Ross, William	Willcocks, Peleck*
Martin, Thomas	Roth, Ebenezer	Willey, Nathaniel
Merrett, William*	Ryan, John	Williams, Jedediah
	Ryan, Michael	Worthylake, George

Gurdon Bill, included in the preceding list, later became lieutenant of marines. He was afterward a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He served in the navy in the

* Deserted.

War of 1812 and died March 4, 1815. Other records of an individual nature produce evidence that David Phipps was a lieutenant on the *Confederacy* when captured and was afterward a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. Mr. Clarkson was a midshipman; Mr. Keith, chaplain, Joseph Hardy, captain, and Ephraim Bill, second lieutenant of marines; Henry Norris a member of the crew.

The following names identical with those of members of the crew appear on the pension list under the General Act of 1818:

Curtis, Frederick
Dennis, Samuel
Fuller, Benjamin
Hyde, Ebenezer
Hyde, Phineas
Latham, Amos
Raymond, William
Rogers, Oliver
Tracy, Solomon

The following names appear in the journal of Joseph Hardy, Captain of Marines. An asterisk follows the names of those who appear on the preceding list of members of the crew:

Ebenezer Tanner (Touner*), cook's mate, died at sea
Jan. 28, 1780.

John Wainwright, fifer, died at sea Jan. 31, 1780.

Enoch Bretts, marine, died at sea Jan. 31, 1780.

Ryan,* died at sea Mar. 4, 1780.

John Griffin (Griffing*), died at sea Mar. 10, 1780.

Simon Ashbow (Simeon Ashbro*), marine, died at sea
Mar. 13, 1780.

George Reynolds (Ranold*), died at sea Apr. 10, 1780.

Southerly Grinnell, marine, died at sea Apr. 13, 1780.

Samuel Collins, marine, died at sea Dec. 30, 1780.

Asa Durfey (Durfée*), boy, died at sea Dec. 31, 1780.

Philip Carney, marine, died at sea Feb. 9, 1781.

D. O'Bryan received corporal punishment for stealing clothes.

Lewis Evans, Carpenter's Mate, and Anthony Carne, Seaman, according to the Journals of the Continental Congress, August 31, 1781, were members of the crew of the *Confederacy*.

Thomas S. Collier, in an article appearing in the papers of the New London County Historical Society, Part IV, Vol. I, gives a second list of the crew of the *Confederacy*. This list was copied from some manuscript notes of Miss Caulkins. These notes are copied from manuscripts of Captain Joshua Huntington relating to the construction of the *Confederacy*. It would appear, however, that Captain Huntington's manuscripts were not filed chronologically. Miss Caulkins assumes that the list contains names of those who were engaged in the construction of the *Confederacy* or as members of the crew but this list is identical with the muster roll of Captain Joshua Huntington's Company of Colonel Selden's Battalion, which participated in the battles around New York in 1776. The construction of the *Confederacy* was not authorized until 1778.

IV

Private Journal of Capt. Joseph Hardy

PRIVATE JOURNAL ON BOARD THE "CONFEDERACY"
FRIGATE KEPT BY CAPTAIN JOSEPH HARDY
IN COMMAND OF MARINES (MS.)

REMARKS &C ON BOARD THE "CONFEDERACY" FRIGATE.—
NOW AT ST. PIERR'S.—

Monday 20th Decemr. 1779 I returned on Board this Morning from Town.— The Governor of this Island, several Gentlemen of distinction, and a few Officers of the Army and Navy came on Board this morning to Breakfast and view the Ship.— Ships Crew employed about sundries.— went ashore again in the afternoon & returned in the Evening without anything particular happening.

Tuesday 21st Employed myself all this day on Board writing home.— the Weather very warm notwithstanding it's very agreeable and cool on board the Ship having the advantage of the Sea breezes. Cleaned Ship fore and Aft &c.—

Wednesday 22d. At 4 this Morning Mr. Gerrard went in our Barge accompani'd with Mr. Jay and Bingham to Fort Royal.— as he passed the Ship he was saluted with 21 Guns as a farewell One of the French Frigates in this Harbour sailed the forenoon, soon after a Sloop of War and several Merchant Ships arrived, from Fort Royal.— At Meredian 4 large Ships supposed to be English in Chace of three french Frigates from Granada they were some distance to Leeward.— This afternoon being in Town had

good information from several Gentlemen of Character that D. . . from whom I bought my Bills had formerly lived here and run away to America greatly in debt after defrauding a number of Gentlemen and otherwise bears a most Villianous Character. From other circumstances and all I can collect I too much fear my Bills is not worth a Shilling. a disagreeable piece of News to find myself here a Stranger, Moneyless, Friendless and Bills not even Saleable.— too severe a stroke on me after escaping the late misfortunes.—

Thursday 23d. This Morning met Mr. P.— in town who acted the part of a polite Friend in respect to my private business.— Dined with Capta. Daniels on board his Brig lately from Boston. in company with the Doctor & Purser.— after dinner went ashore and took a little Exercise— at 6 PM. went in company with all our Officers to the playhouse, The Piece that was performed is an English Farce called the Deserter and much esteemed by Europeans but in the French is much altered from the English Mode and ruined with a multiplicity of Singing it was uncommonly short beginning and concluding the Evenings entertainment without any addition The Sloop *Hancock* Capa. Leister, Schooner *Dean* Capa. P Richards and another Sloop arrived this Evening from Statia and lately from N London in Connecticut.—

Friday 24th. A Dispute having happened a few Nights ago in a Bagnio, between Mr. P. of our Ship and an Acting Lieutt. of one of the French Frigates in this Harbor a Challenge ensued. in consequence thereof the Parties with their proper attendants was this morning at 6 O'Clock conducted in our Barge to the Northward of the Town where they Landed and exchanged two Shot without either

LEMAN'S & Co. on Board the Confederacy Frigate. —
now at St. Pierre. —

Monday 20th Decr. 1776

Detained on Board this Morning from Court — The Governor of the Island, several Gentlemen of distinction, and a few Officers of the Army and Navy came on Board this morning to Breakfast and view the Ship. — Ships Crew employed about Gunnies — went ashore again in the afternoon! Detained in the Evening without any thing particular happening. —

Tuesday 21st. Employed myself all this day on Board writing home — the Weather very warm notwithstanding it's very agreeable and cool on board the Ship having the advantage of the Sea breezes. *Grand Ship-boys and Offrs.* —

Wednesday 22^d. & 24th this Morning Mr. Gerard went in our Barge accompanied with Mr. Jay and D'Ingham to Fort Royal. — as he passed the Ship he was saluted with 21 Guns as a salute One of the French Frigates in this Harbour sailed this forenoon soon after a Sloop of War and several Merchant Ships arrived from Fort Royal. — Also Meeting 4 large Ships supposed to be English in Chase of three French Frigates from Granada as they were some distance to Sea wards. — This afternoon being in Town had good information from several Gentlemen of Character that D. — (from whom I thought my Bills had formerly lived here and was away to America) greatly indebted after defrauding a number of Gentlemen (and otherwise) than almost Villianous Character! From other circumstances

party's receiving injury after which the Enmity subsided and the Partys became Friends. It may be easily judged what was the cause of this Dispute from the place where it happened, but it is too frequently the cause of Strife and promoter of Bloodshed.— Mr. Gerrard and Jay returned this morning from Fort Royal and ensured our being fitted there with all expedition, but as it will take a considerable time to compleat us the French Admiral has favored them with a Frigate to carry them to France, so that we shall return to America from hence except orders to the contrary from Congress.— The *Iphigena* Frigate of 32 Guns and the Sloop of War *Series* of 18.— Sailed this forenoon on a Cruise.— Unmoored Ship this Evening in order to go to Fort Royal tomorrow.—

Saturday 25th. Hove up this morning and dropt outside of the French Frigates in order to come to Sail.— Dined on board with the Officers tho' it was Christmas Day after which we went to Town.— This Day is highly celebrated here by the Inhabitants in their Churches. some amusing themselves at various Entertainments. whilst others of the World are carrying on their usual business and grasping at every glittering Bauble they can see.— Spent the Evening and Supp'd at Mr. Bingham's with Mr. Jay and Lady, of whom I took a final leave and returned on board.— Light Winds and Shore business prevented our Sailing to day.

Sunday 26. At Daybreak this morning hove up and got under way with a light breeze off Shore. kept along shore to the Southward with Winds very variable. passed several neat Village's and small Batteries.— at 12 O'Clock got into the mouth of Fort Royal Bay. at 1 the Town and Shipping in sight about four Leagues distance.— The Wind being down the Bay obliged us to Work the Ship up Tack

& Tack which she performs beyond expectation. The Land about Fort Royal appears more even than at St. Pierrs and some well cultivated Plantations— about half way this Bay on a small Island called Pigeon Island near the South shore is a very formidable Fort with a number of heavy Cannon and Mortars. On the North side of the Bay another small Fort situated on Point Negro about four Miles below the Town another opposite Fort Royal on the S. shore with Fort Borboun the back of Fort Royal appearing very large and spacious at 5 PM a Pilot or Harbor-master came on board and at 8 came to Anchor above the Ships.—

Monday 27th. The Pilot came on board this morning got the Ship under way and run into the Carnage.* it's a small Bason but deep where all the Kings Ships heave down, situated on the East side of the Fort. Adml. LaMot Piquet lays off in the Harbor with 6 Sail of the Line, whom we saluted as we passed which was returned with Eleven Guns. also saluted the Fort Royal which was returned in the same manner. at 12 Moored Ship head and Stern close under the Walls of the Fort all hands employed in the afternoon striking Yards & Topmasts.— went ashore in the Evening to view the Town of Fort Royal found it to be a very uniform Built place situated on a perfect Level it's about half as large as St. Pierrs but the Buildings not so good in general there are several good Walks and Malls about the Town. The greatest part of the Inhabitants here are Mustees† very little Trade here tho' the seat of Government.—

Tuesday 28th. Having private business at St. Pierrs went

* Careenage.

† Offspring of white person and quadroon: a contraction of Mestizo.

ashore this morning with Mr. V. at 10 took passage in a Canoe from Town.— These Canoes will carry 6 or 7 hh”ds Sugar and ply with Freight or Passengers from here to St. Pierrs. they are rowed by five or six Negroes whose Lives appear to be as wretched as any part of the Human race. some of them are chained by one leg to the Boat and others shew the stripes of cruelty on their Body’s in this manner these unhappy Mortals row in these Boats for Weeks without 10 hours intermission and as Naked as the moment of their Birth not even the Galley Slave in Barbary is more miserable.— It is not only these that feel the stripes of inhumanity but many on shore are to be seen with a heavy Iron ring round his Neck from which leads a heavy chain to another ring round his Waist and from that to another Ring round his Anckle and others dragging by one foot 50 or 60 lb. of Chain and in this situation are obliged to go thro’ their usual services. But to return to our passage we arrived at St. 3 PM. but contrary to expectation found that Mr. Jay and Lady with Mr. Gerrard, Carmichel Penet and Livingston had that Morning Sailed for Europe in the *Aurora* French Frigate, which frustrated our intentions.— spent there at sundry places.—

Wednesday 29th December. several Vessels arrived to day at St. Pierr’s from Statia. Dined and spent the afternoon with Mr. Bingham the Continental Agent.— in the Evening at the Dancing School where the Young Ladies and Gentlemen of the Town practice twice or thrice a Week they Dance extraordinary well particularly Cotillions, afterwards Supt with Mr. Byrne at his Lodgings and retired to our own.—

Thursday 30th. The forenoon spent in transacting a little trifling Business.— after Dinner procured a passage

in a small wherry Boat at 4 PM set off with the addition of Mr. W. . . in company— on our passage saw a French Frigate beating up Fort Royal Bay. at 9 O'Clock arrived safe at the Ship and found all well but in low Spirits having but an indifferent prospect of getting Spars to fit us. since my absence the Powder and Guns sent ashore. and the Admiral has demanded and taken on board his Fleet all our Frenchmen to the amount of 40 or 50 a good riddence of Lubbers. The french Fleet is going out on a short Cruize and being in want of Men the Admiral has borrowed 30 Men from us for 20 days amongst which is a Serjt. & 15 Marines

Friday 31st. Intillegence received here yesterday from St. Lucie that 15 Sail of the British fleet had Sailed from thence their destination unknown. a Crew employed rigging the Cutter sent a number of water Casks ashore. Admiral La Mot Piquet aboard this afternoon viewing the Ship— no spars procured yet. at sundown the *Amphitrite* french Frigate came to Anchor in the Fleet having carried away her foretopmast and Maintop Gallant mast in a flaw of Wind at the mouth of this Bay in the forenoon. These flaws of wind come off the Land unexpected and are very common.— Working the Chain pumps this Evening one of the Men had his Arm caught between the Crank and Stantion which tore great part of the Flesh off his Arm is feared it will cause an Amputation. he sent ashore immediately to the Hospital.—

Saturday 1st. January 1780. The Gunners Crew employed carrying Shot ashore &c Mr. Bingham came to Town.— spent the afternoon ashore being Newyears day— in the Evening returned on board.— at 7 in the Evening the Centry on the Larboard Gangway fired on a Man

swimming away from the Ship without injuring him. the Jolly Boat pursued him alongside the 74 laying along side of us; he proved to be one of her Men which had Swam on board our Ship in the evening and was returning back. but not answering the Centry when hailed he was obligated to Fire on him.—

Sunday 2d. Several Gentlemen on board this morning viewing the Ship, also Mr. B. our Agent, who informs us he cannot procure Spars to fit us immediatly, therefore must wait the arrival of a Spar Ship which is expected here, so that from appearances at present there is no probability of our leaving here this several Months. Rigged the Cutter this afternoon Sloop fashion.— nothing more particular.—

Monday 3d. January Rainy Foggy Weather this morning. the French fleet 6 Sail of the Line & 2 Frigates hove up came to Sail and run out to Sea their destination unknown. at 9 O'Clock Capa. 2d. Lieutt. & Purser Sailed in the Cutter for St. Pierrs got two Spars from shore to take out the Mizenmast. employed myself all day writing home.— The Cutter returned in the Night with the 2d. Lieutt.—

Tuesday 4th. Early this morning appeared in the Mouth of this Bay an English Fleet of 14 sail having intillegence I suppose that Monsieur Piquet was going to Sail, but they were a Day too late the Bird they seek'd had flown. at 11 they made Sail and stood to the Southward. as soon as this Fleet was discovered all the Ships in the Bay was ordered into the Carnage. In the morning went with Mr. V. in the Cutter to the other side of the Bay. hauled the Seine several Times but without success, which obliged us to purchase a few fish at a Neighbouring House which we had cooked and served for a very good repast. at 1 made Sail again into another Bay where we made another attempt

attended with the usual success. We then throwed by our Nets and went up to an adjacent Planters house where we were received and treated with great politness we found the Master of the House to be a Man of good property. after regaleing us with a Bottle of Wine and fruit he conducted us thro' his Gardens, where I found all kinds of Sallads in great perfection with a variety of West-India fruits such as Cocoa Nuts, Bennania's, Plantain, Oranges and the Garden surrounded with a hedge of Lime trees growing about as high and thick as the Thorn hedge the Trees are full of small thorns and the leaves much like the American Laurel always Green. at 5 we parted with him after receiving many pressing invations to renew the Visit.— got to the Ship at sundown and found the Mizenmast and stump of the Bowsprit taken out.—

Wednesday 5. Got up all our Sails to dry.— the Cutter sent to water this morning early to Casnapiere Bay, on their return the Wind blowed so fresh they cou'd not get here before 2 P.M. myself ashore on Ship business in the Morning.— Carpenters at work ashore on the Mizenmast the Cutter with the 2d. Lieutt. went to our former Fishing Grounds. went to Town in the Eveng.—

Thursday 6th. Very warm Weather. all Hands employed about sundries. The Cutter went to St. Pierrs this morning for the Captain. spent the Evening ashore nothing further particular.

Friday 7th. The Carpenters ashore Tongueing the Mizenmast, others preparing to Caulk the Ship in the Evening the Capa. & Purser returned in the Cutter from St. Pierrs and brought with them a quantity of Sauce and Coffee for the Ships use. came round in the Cutter a french Lieutt. taken in one of the 3 Frigates (the 3 being taken)

that saw chased by 4 - 74's whilst we lay at St. P.— The Officers had everything plundered from them when taken except the Cloaths they had on, and in many other respects treated Cruelly.—

Saturday 8th. Carpenters caulking the Ships sides. Rigg'd the Foreyard fore and aft on the fore Mast in order to get in the Bowsprit (when we get one). Capta. Harding ashore all day endeavoring to procure Spars for the Ship but can get no satisfaction from the Intendant.— here we have been three Weeks and no nearer being fitted than the Hour we arrived.— the inattention that we have been treated with here as a Vessel in distress and an Ally calls loudly to his Christian Majesty for Redress as it is most undoubtedly a breach of the Treaty of Alliance— After Meredian a French frigate came into the Carnage to heave down.—

Sunday 9th. Spent the day on board— a Sermon Preached on board in the forenoon. Dined with the Captain.— the 3d. Lieutt went to St. Pierrs on Ships business. Mr. Minot a Mercht. from Boston spent the day on board.— a Flagg from St. Lucee but last from St. Piers came up the Bay and Landed several Prisoners.— came on board in the forenoon 3 Americans just made their escape from St. Lucee, they bring no intillegence of certainty.

Monday 10th. This morning Capa. Harding with the first Lieutt. went in the Cutter to St. P. in order if possible to expedite our refitting.— at 11 I went ashore to the Fort and Town on Ships business amongst other things waited on the Intendent for a few Articles for the Ship but to no effect. Dined on board after dinner went in company with some of the Officers up to Fort Borboun situated about a Mile to the Nd. & Ed. of the Town on a high Mountain and very Commanding piece of Ground its the largest and

most extensive piece of work of the kind I ever saw the Wall is upwards of 50 feet high surrounded with a very wide Ditch which we were informed can be filled in a few minutes on occasion from Water works in the Fort. but the Commanding Officer not being in the Fort we cou'd not view the Water works or many other curiosities. I imagine the whole Works comprehending Redoubts &c extends a Mile and half the whole looks down into Fort Royal.— It was this hill the English availed themselves of last War unknown to the French and beat down the Walls of Fort Royal and obliged the Island to Capitulate. since, the French has taken the hint and fortified it themselves.— returned on board in the Evening.—

Tuesday 11th. This Morning took a view of Fort Royal. it's situated on the South side of the Town on a Penninsula the greatest part of it surrounded by the Bay. it's large and very strong composed of a great number of Batteries mounting in the whole to upwards of 130 pieces of heavy Cannon & 6 large Mortars with very large Barracks sufficient to contain 6 or 7000 Troops— also several large Magazines well fitted. in this Fort there is a large Cavity cut out of a Rock sufficient to contain all the Inhabitants of the Town secure in case of a Seige.— Latter part of the day waited on the Marquis de Bouille— the General, to demand two Marines who had lately deserted and Listed into their service upon which he immediatly released them.— Tho' seemingly against the inclination of the Officer that Listed them who amongst the rest endeavoured to add to our distress by wishing to detain them

Wednesday 12th. Rainy thick weather all day. the Capta. returned in the Cutter from St. P. Mr. Byrne came on board with him.— the three Men which I retrieved yesterday

was brought on board under Guard and confined in Irons.— Several of the Seamen having Liberty to go ashore in the afternoon returned on board much intoxicated with Liquor and in consequence of it like all Sailors began to grumble at their wage and insisted on being sent to St. Lucee to be exchanged these were joined by several who was taken out of English Privateers and in a few minutes the whole Ship appeared in a flame of Mutiny. the Ringleaders were immediately confined in Irons hands and feet and some of the most obstropolous were Gagged, which soon cooled them down. however they were kept in confinement all Night.—

Thursday 13th. Released all the Prisoners from confinement under promise of good behaviour prevented all Bomb-boats from coming alongside which was a great means of our Crews getting so much Liquor. The Captain has agreed with the Officer of the Flag to exchange these men for Americans. imployed myself all day writing home.— The Flag sailed after dark for St. Lucee she is to return in a few days with Americans for us. The Officer of this Flag had the most Liberty of any Officer of the kind I ever saw, being under no restrictions going thro' the Ships Forts &c where ever he pleases he'll be able to give a good representation of the state of affairs there. the Infant States of America wou'd not allow themselves to be duped in this manner.—

Friday 14 January Nothing particular this morning. all Hands employed picking Oakum making Sinnet and fitting Mizen rigging &c.—

Saturday 15th. Took down the Sheers which is wanted on board the French Ships.— Our Friends here have at last granted us what Spars they have to spare being only two or three pieces to Tongue the Mizenmast and Bowsprit and

two Spars for lower Yards having none for a Mainmast or foremast, but they have granted us as much Rigging as we want

Sunday 16th. This morning Signals displayed for a great number of Ships off the South part of the Island.— arrived here a Brig from Dartmouth in America Loaded with Lumber Our Chaplain delivered an extraordinary good Discourse.— after Dinner went Sailing with the Officers spent the afternoon aboard of an American Ship.—

Monday 17th. The Capa. and first Lieutt. went to St. Pierrs this morning in the Cutter the Master ashore picking suitable Rigging for the Ship— got a Spar on board to Tongue the Mizenmast which we are under the necessity of making it serve for a Mainmast.— arrived here this afternoon a French flag of Truce which had been sent from here to Barbadoes some time ago for a number of French Prisoners which is due the French, but they wou'd not permit the Officer to go ashore or pay any attention to his demands and during the time he lay there a strong Guard was kept on Board the Ship. Treatment far different to what the English Flag received when here the other day.—

Tuesday 18th. I was taken this Morning very ill with a Fever which confined me to my Bed all day.—

Wednesday 19th. Found myself much better this morning so as to be able to go upon deck the Cutter returned this afternoon with the Captain they took up the Armorers Mate whilst at St. Pierrs.— got part of the Rigging on board yesterday. Carpenters caulking the Ship and working ashore on the Mizenmast.

Thursday 20th. several people sent to the Hospital sick and others taking sick daily— got the Rigging on board.— Our polite Planter on the South side of the Bay with whom

we spent the afternoon when last a Fishing spent the forenoon and dined with us. the Carpenters Tongueing the Mizzenmast, all hands employed working up Junk &c.—

Friday 21st. Seamen employed fitting the Mainrigging.— Cutter taking the Shingle ballast ashore, got off from Shore two Spars to make lower Yards and two Spars for Sheers to get in the Mainmast.—

Saturday 22d. Raised the Sheers and got out the Jury-mainmast. The first Lieutenant went in the Barge to St. Pierrs to send round a number of Spars for the Ship— carrying Ballast ashore all day.— The 74 alongside of us this Evening hauled off to heave down. a heavy Firing was heard the day before yesterday from the South part of the Island at St. Lucee. The reason of it is not yet known.—

Sunday 23d. The Cutter returned this morning from St. Pierrs with a Sloop's mainmast to make us a Foremast.— very pleasant day, squally with a good deal of Rain in the afternoon nothing further particular. it being the Sabbath day staid on board all day.—

Monday 24th. This morning the Barge sent to St. Pierrs for more Spars. our Carpenters employed making the lower Yards. one hand Caulking the Ship. Employed myself the forenoon writing home. in the Evening in Town with some of our Officers. amongst many passing Scenes one presented to my view this afternoon which I was before totally ignorant of a Lady was passing along Street dressed in a brown riding Habit and petticoat, it was cried out she was Booted, I looked more narrowly and greatly to my surprize found it so as her Petticoat was short they were esily perceived with high Cork heels. I don't know how high they drew up but I suppose to her I lookd under her Umbrello to satisfy myself whether it was Man or

Woman & there I beheld a face all bedaubed with paint and head as big as a bushel. she was an Original she had been riding with a whip in her hand.—

Tuesday 25th January. Heavy Rains with smart Squalls of Wind. Employed four French Carpenters at work on the lower Yards.— procured a spar this afternoon to Splice the Foremast. The Barge returned in the Evening from St. Pierr's with two large Spars, having left our Purser there, very Sick with a fever. we are informed a Philadelphia Brig arrived at St. P. yesterday in distress, having met with severe Weather on the Coast of America from where she was drove off and lost her Topmasts she was last from Cailais.— two of our People taken with severe fitts this Evening the fifer tumbled over Board and had near being Drowned A Man tumbled into the Mainhold without receiving much injury, and one of the Centrys tumbled off the Gangway in upon the Deck. I believe the D—l got aboard to Night the whole Ship seemed to be in a Tumult all the Evening.—

Wednesday 26th The Boat returned to St. Pierrs this morning.— Squally weather the forenoon— the Carpenters at work ashore on the Spars.— fixing the Main rigging aboard, sending the Shingle Ballast ashore.— very heavy Squalls of wind with Rain all the Evening.— Signals displayed about Sundown up at Fort Borboun for a Fleet being seen off. not more particular.—

Thursday 27th January. Fresh Breezes this Day from the S.E.— piece of Timber which we got to splice the Foremast we have concluded to make a Bowsprit of it by joining the heel of the old one to it. got on shore this afternoon for that purpose. Signals displayed at different times to day for a Fleet being seen off— Yesterday application was made

formally to the Intendant for (only) Canvas sufficient to make our Courses but he preremptorily refused it at the same time we were certainly assured of their being a large Quantity of it in the Public Stores. Thus is our refitting wantonly retarded by this Man, until we can be redressed by the General, who is at present out of Town, and owing to nothing more than a difference in Public Party affairs subsisting between the General and Intendant.—

Friday 28th Late last Night the 1st Lieutent. returned in the Barge from St. Pierrs but without any Spars the Continental Agent there having not Money to purchase any more.— this morning 13 or 14 Sail of the English Fleet in sight.— several Seamen entered on board to day having left some American Vessels at St. Pierrs.— Ebenezer Tanner one of the Cooks Mates Sleeping on deck last Night was accidentally trod on the Belly by some Person in the dark from which he died this afternoon it's supposed some of his Entrails was broke.— heavy squalls with rain this afternoon a Ship arrd. from St. P. with public Stores.— 6 Sail of the English fleet in the mouth of this bay this Evening.— several of our Officers taken sick also the People.—

Saturday 29th January. This morning the Barge and Cutter went to St. Pierrs for Provisions &c. the Capta. & 2 Lieutts. went in them.— Seven Sail of Admiral Parkers Fleet off the mouth of the Bay this forenoon.— Carpenters at work ashore on the Masts. Seamen fixing rigging &c.—

Sunday 30th. Last Night the *Series* Sloop of War came up the Bay. the English Fleet in sight this morning.— no business Transacting to day it being the Sabbath. after Dinner took a walk about a Mile in the Country with my 2d Lieutenant. saw several good Country Seats and fine Plantations covered mostly with the Sugar Cane. but for want of Linguister returnd early in the afternoon.—

Monday 31st At 3 O'Clock this morning the Barge returned from St. Pierrs with four small Spars. by which we learn that the British Fleet being off St. P. yesterday under French Colours one of them took an American Brig bound into St. P. close under one of the French Batteries which fired on the Ship and was returned from her but without any injury on either side.— at 9 AM. the Barge went to St. Pierrs again. two of my Marines died to day at the Hospital Vizt. John Wainright— fifer, & Enoch Bretts.— Carpenters at work on sundrys sawing Paunches for the Masts and Tonguing the Bowspit.

Tuesday 1st February. At 11 AM. set off from the Ship in the Cutter for St. Pierrs in company with several of our Officers on our way round saw eight sail of the English to the Southward of this Island. being calm made our Passage very tedious at 6 PM got aboard of Capa. Thompsons Brig from Philadelphia saw an old acquaintance Cap. Mullet who I delivered Letters for Phila. went to Town about Dark and met Cap. H.— spent the Evening at the American Coffe-House with several Gentlemen from America.—

Wednesday 2d. Set off this morning at 6 O'clock in the Cutter, also the Barge with Capa. Harding and Mr. Bingham. I breakfasted with Captain Thompson on board his Brig— afterwards made the best of our way to the Ship and arrived about 3 O'Clock.— The Carpentrs. at work on the Spars. &c.

Thursday 3d. Pleasant agreeable Weather all this Day. Carpenters finishing off the Mainmast.— Cutter employed all Day carrying Shingle Ballast ashore.— a Crew fixing the Rigging &c. nothing more worthy of Remark.—

Friday 4th. Went ashore this forenoon on business with

Mr. Bingham. He has made a formal demand of Spars &c to fit us which at last is complied with thro' the assistance of the General.— at 2 P.M. the 2d Lieutt. went to St. Pierrs in the Barge to employ a Number of Carpenters.— Mr. B. returned in the Barge. This Evening got from the Kings Yard a number of Spars for Topmasts, Top-gallant Masts, Steering Sail Booms &c. Carpenters finished the Mainmast this Evening all ready to take in tomorrow Morning so that we shall soon begin to appear a little formidable. it really Animates us the sudden change and prospect we have to day of getting Refitted, tho' we might now been much forwarder in fitting had it not been for the Intendant's ungenerous and Villianous conduct in denying us those Articles which he had in his power to serve us with

Saturday 5th February Launched the Mainmast this morning at 11 got it in its place and before Night got the Mainrigging overhead and seized in the Dead Eyes. finished the Bowsprit also ready to take in, and two Topmasts. Purchased two Caps ashore for the Mainmast and Foremast. Our Sailmakers employed altering the Sails. procured Canvas from the Kings Stores for our Courses and sixteen Barrels of Provisions Sailmakers employed ashore to make the Courses the rest of our Sails making in St. Pierrs the weather very pleasant and favorable for our Work.—

Sunday 6th The Lieutenant returned this morning from St. Pierrs without effecting the business he went on. Yesterday ten Sail of the English Fleet being to the Northward of the Island chaced in a Brig and Schooner under a three Gun Battery which the Ships engaged for some time and Landed upwards of 200 Men upon which the few Troops that was in the Battery abandoned it after Spiking up the Guns. the Enemy burnt the two Vessels in this grand acquisi-

tion One of the Ships lost her Bowsprit another a Top G. Mast & Crossjack Yard and two Boats Sunk in landing the Troops.— The great necessity of getting the Ship fitted with all Expedition obliged us to keep the Ship Crew at work to Day tho' it is the Sabbath. Notwithstanding our Chaplain delivered us abt. 11 OClk an excellent well adapted Sermon on the abominable Practice of Swearing.— afterwards turned all Hands to work raising Sheers and getting ready to take the Bowsprit in.— after Dinner launched the Bowsprit brot it alongside and fixed it in its proper place.— Carpenters at work ashore on the Topmasts finished taking out the Shingle Ballast.

Monday 7th Raised Sheers this morning on the Fore-castle and got the Jury foremast we are obliged to make a Mizenmast of our two old Topmasts by tonguing and fishing* them together Carpenters at work on them. got out the Stump of the foremast.— Seamen at work on the Bowsprit fixing the Bobstays Gammoning &c.— Went in the Cutter this afternoon over the other side of the Bay to Bath in Salt Water returned on board early.— The *Magnifique* 74 compleated Graving this Evening having in days hove both sides keel out Corked and and Graved them.

Tuesday 8th The Cutter went this morning to St. P. with the 1st Lieutt. set up the Main rigging and maintop fixed Carpenters making Spars &c.— This being Shrove Tuesday and a great Holiday or what is called Carnival time amongst the French just before the Commencement of Lent is kept and Celebrated with all kinds of diversions amongst which is a celebrated one. the Inhabitants of the town dressed in odd figures and masked parading the Streets with 100 negroes all spattered with paints following them

* Strengthening with strips of wood.

others carrying Images of the Betrayer, Judas Iscariot, as it said it was on this day he was betrayed, and on board the Ships they have the same Effagies hung up to their Bow-sprits which duck pelt and Shute at all day & finally drown it— in this ignorant stupid manner this day is spent and all the holidays as ridiculous which is not equalled by the natural Savage Indian—

Wednesday 9th February. Very dry warm weather blowing fresh Trade winds. Rattled down the Main Shrouds. got the Main-cap up in his place. Rigged the Main-yard and got him atho't.— Carpenters at work on board making large Wedges for the mainmast out of the Stumps of the old Masts. got a quantity of Oak Plank and Pine Boards from the Kings Yard.—

Thursday 10th Nothing very remarkable the forenoon all Hands busily employed about sundries.— at 3 P.M. the Cutter returned from St. Pierrs with the Lieutt. and Mr. P. Richards, Brother to our Purser who spent the Evening with us the Cutter bro't round some Slops &c.—

Friday 11th This forenoon the Cutter returned with the Captain and Mr. Richards the Purser and Doctor to St. Pierrs.—after Meridian 8 Sail of the British Fleet passed this Bay standing to the Southward.— Carpenters finishing the Mizenmast &c.—

Saturday 12th The *Ceris* sloop of War got under way and went down the Bay. the British fleet in sight— Ships Crew fixing the Rigging— Carpenters finished the Mizenmast ready to get in tomorrow.— Gunners Crew painting the Gun Carriages &c.— Dry warm weather.—

Sunday 13th Notwithstanding it being the Sabbath necessities of the Ship obligated the Officers to keep all Hands on board & the french Carpenters ashore to Work— at 8 A.M.

got the Mizen mast in it's place and the Rigging up took the small Sheers down off the Forecastle and the Sheers from the Quarter Deck and moved them on the forecastle.— a Sloops Mast taken to make the foremast Carpenters at work on it fixing the Cheeks &c. its to be tongued with one of our old Topmasts.— In the Evening at 8 OClk. the Cutter returned from St. Pierrs with a few Quoils of Rigging.—

Monday 14th This Morning got the Maintopmast thro' the Cap and rigging on it went in the Pinnacle to Casnavier River to water there a small Town there where a number of Fishermen live I saw them hauling Seines in the Bay but no fish caught the Seine is upwards of 400 Fathom long and depth proportionable they take above thirty Negroes to Work them. On our way up the Bay saw a small Whale or Grampus assaulted by the Sword fish and Thrasher the conflict was so sharp it obliged the Grampus to forsake his Element several times jumping out of water his whole length this continued about fifteen Minutes being some considerable distance cou'd [not] discover in whose favor it terminated.— very squally with rain this afternoon.— Swayed the Mizentopmast thro' the Cap before dark. the Cutter went to St. P. for the Captain.—

Tuesday 15th Seamen employed fitting Maintop Gallant rigging. the afternoon swayed the Maintop Gallant mast up and rigged it. Mizentopmast rigged. Carpenters at work on the Foremast and making light Spars. Calm and very Sultry warm weather the Evening pleasant Breeze and rain.—

Wednesday 16th Early this morning the *Fandange* 74 arrived from Chesapeak Bay in America she was closely pursued and fired on by the English Fleet at the Mouth

of this Bay.— at 4 O'Clock this morning Mr. R. sent in the Pinnacle watering to Casnavier as usual with a Crew of six Men. after filling the water and on their return its supposed the Crew mutined and took the Boat as she was afterwards seen standing for the English Fleet. the Enemy will now have a particular detail of our situation. Rattled down the Maintopmasts Shrouds. got the Crossjack up in its place and rigged— Heavy Rains this afternoon.— Cutter returned from St. P. with a load of Rigging—

Thursday 17th Cutting sent to Casnavier for water the English Fleet off the mouth of the Bay.— Very warm weather Trade wind fresh at N.E. In the afternoon arrived here safe a Letter Marque Ship of 18 Guns in 23 days from Boston Loaded with Provision for the French Government. Late last Night the Captain returned from St. Pierrs. Carpenters at work on the Foremast.— set up the Main and Main topmast Rigging.— Crew employed at Sundry other necessary Duties.—

Friday 18th February Received thirty Barrels of Provisions on board from the King's Stores. Rigged the Spritsail Yard athwart. several employed Reeving Topsail Ties and Hallyards and other running rigging. Swayed up the Mainyard in its proper place. Cutter made two turns to Casnavier watering filling water for a Cruize. Carpenters busily employed. &c.

Saturday 19th At 8 O'Clock this morning the Captain and Purser went to St. Pierrs in a Passage Boat. The Cutter on her return from Casnavier this forenoon over set in a sudden Squall of wind she lost her rudder by the assistance of a Schooner she was righted without the loss of a Man.— The British fleet in sight all day.— Reeved the running rigging and otherwise employed about the Rigging.—

Sunday 20th All Hands kept at work to day as usual. The English off this Harbor in the Morning and having intelligence of the French Fleets being near the Island the made the best of their way into St. Lucee.— Carpenters at work ashore got 4 Stages alongside in order to finish Caulking the Ship. Blacked all the Yards Mastheads, &c—

Monday 21st February The french Fleet early this morning beat up the Bay having been joined by three of Mossr. De Grasse's Fleet who now commands this Fleet during their Cruize they took six Prizes, two English Frigates off this Bay reconnitreing. The 50 Gun Ship which lately hove down hauled out of the Carnage and joined the Fleet which makes a Fleet of Eleven Sail of double Deckers and two Frigates ready for Sea. got a large piece of a Timber for a rudder Post.— 20 Caulkers employed this morning Caulking the Ship Carpenters at work on the foremast and Foretop &c. Seamen fixing the forerigging &c. Made a demand of our Men which was lent Mossr. Piquets fleet.—

Tuesday 22d. The Corkers at work heeled the Ship in order to Caulk under the Water. Sixteen Sail of British Ships amongst which is four or five Frigates Cruizing to day in the Channel between St. Lucee and this Island it's reported the French fleet here, is going out to Tommorrow to meet them.— very Warm dry weather wind S.E. Carpenters at work ashore on the foremast. Seamen fixing fore rigging. Cutter filling water Took up the Main Shrouds seized in the dead Eyes and set them up. Sailmakers employed on board altering our Former Topsails. &c.

*Wednesday 24th** Employed all Hands at Sundry duties

* This should be Wednesday the 23d. Captain Hardy carries the day of the month one in excess of what it should be until Thursday, March 16, when he evidently discovered his error but did not correct the preceding dates.

such as filling Water Rigging the Fore and foretopsail Yard and compleating the forerigging.— about 500 Troops Embarked on board the French fleet in the afternoon with Intrenching Tools &c. which seem to indicate which seemed to indicate a Land interprize.— but a strong report is propogated that they are determined to meet the British Fleet— more especially as to day they went into St. Lucee, but if the Britons has enqual force I make no doubt but they will meet the french and by the superior sway should it be the case I shall be very uneasy for our dear Allies.—

Thursday 25th The General of the Island this morning sent on board of us three Americans taken up by the Guards, two of which had made their escape from a British Man of War at St. Lucee one of them Mr. R. belonging to Philada. taken a Prisoner about Eight Months ago.— he brings certain intillegence of Admiral Rodney's arriving at Barabadoes with eight Sail of the Line.— Capa. Harding arrived last Night from St. Pierrs— this morning he waited on Admiral D'Grasse and demanded our Men which was complied with and sent on board in the afternoon.— Corkers— Caulking the Waterways of the Main deck Carpenters finishing the foremast &c.

Friday 26th February A Midshipman sent in the Cutter this morning to St. Pierrs for Provisions, Slops, &c. Signals displayed for the English Fleet being in the South Channel upon which the French Admiral sent out their Tender and the *Series* Sloop of War to Reconnitre. Carpenters compleated the foremast at last.— Ships Crew employed about sundry Duties.— at 9 in the Evening one of the Centinals on the Gangways fired on a Man attempting to Swim away from the Ship and narrowly escaped being killed he was brought on board and confined with five others who had consulted with him to make their escape.

Saturday 27th The *Manifique* 74 hauled from the Head of the Carnage alongside of us in her usual Birth.— The Cutter late last Night returned from St. Pierrs with Provisions Slops &c.— After Dinner Launched the Foremast and got it in its proper place got all the rigging over the Mast head before Night.— Signals displayed this afternoon for the English Fleet being in the South Channel. at Meridian the Man who last Night attempted to runaway and being the Ringleader of this Scheme was publicly Whipped at the Gangway by order of the Capa. this first regular Punishment that has been inflicted on any this Ships Crew for this common crime which will have a good effect provided there is continuance of it— the rest are confined yet in Irons.—

Sunday 28th February This morning got the fore top up (having kept all hands to work) seized in the Dead Eyes and set the fore Shrouds up before Night got the foretop mast up and rigg'd. Carpenters at work on the Rudder— Took in a number of Casks of water to bring the Ship by the head in order to find out the Leak. went ashore in the afternoon for a few hours and visited Mr. G. who is Sick in the Hospital. at 9 AM a Signal was made in the fleet upon which one of the Frigates got under way and run down the Bay.—

Monday the 29 Feby. Two or three french Ships arrived from Chesapeak Bay Loaded with Tobacco. the Prisoners discharged out of Irons.— All Hands employed rigging the Foremast. got the fore and foretopsail Yard athwart. took in and water Shot &c to bring the Ship by the Head, very fresh Trade winds and warm weather.—

Tuesday 1st March. The English fleet consisting of twenty two laying off and on the Mouth of this Bay it is

suppos'd they are reinforced. The french Fleet has declined going out to meet their Enemies now because their force is inferior, but it's what was expected as they might have a few days ago met their Antagonists on equal Terms.— the Ship brought by the Head got a Hauser out a Stern and hauled her Stern ashore at high water. in the afternoon at low water examined for the Leak but cou'd not reach it. secured the Rudder braces and hauled the Ship off at Night. Caulkers employed Caulking the water ways of the Main deck. Carpenters at work on the Rudder which is ordered to made two feet narrower than the former one being now only five Feet.— Swayed up the foretop Gallant Mast and rigged it. ashore this Evening on business nothing very material Transpired.

Wednesday 2d March Employed this day reeving running rigging preparing to Careen tommorrow, taking in water &c.— The British Fleet in sight from this Island.— at Meridian Mr. W— C— of Providence in Rhode Island came on board having about four days ago made his Escape from the Island of Antigua he has been a Prisoner Eight Months, he brings Letters of intillegence to the Governor here that there is a very Secret expedition now on foot at Antigua it is thought to be agt. some of the French Islands abt. 5 or 6000 Troops had embarked the day he came away and was to proceed to St. Kitts there to be joined by more Ships &c and all to Rendezvous at St. Lucee— Capa. C. was assisted to make his escape to bring this interesting intillegence this News seems confirmed by the appearance of the British Fleet being strongly augmented. Shou'd the Britains make an attempt upon one of the French Islands they have a com-petant force here to instantly retalliate by making a descent on Antigua which Mr. C. assures us is now almost defenceless not having two hundred troops on the Island.—

Thursday 3d March. Careened the Ship down to her Ballast port. Scraped her bottom to the Keel with Hogs and Brushes in the afternoon payed about five feet under her Wale with white Lead and Tallow. in the Evening righted the Ship. Signals this afternoon displayed for the English Fleet being in the South Channel. The *Magnifique* alongside of us fitting with the greatest expedition to join Count D'Grass's fleet now lying in the Bay.—

Friday 4th Several Gentlemen this morning visited us from St. Pierrs amongst whom is Mr. B. Capa. Fosdyke who lately lost his Brig on this Island by the Enemy and Mr. C—y a Merchant lately from Boston. they dined with us afterwards went ashore & embarked for St. Pierr's.— compleated Careening and hogging the Ship. Ryan died very suddenly to day he was carried out into the middle of the Bay it being a custom here when dies so sudden tho' by the Laws of this Island there is a fine of Five hundred pounds if a Man is permitted to Die on board a Vessel in this harbor, except in the above mentd. case.—

Saturday 5th March All Hands employed to day taking in water and stowing it away. took in a Canoe Load of Wood and stowed it away. Fresh Trade winds weather very dry and warm.— Carpenters at Work on the Rudder &c. nothing more remarkable.

Sunday 6th This morning borrowed the Admirals Launch to get our Guns off he politely sent thirty Men with his Gunner in her to assist us. His Boat wou'd have been of much more service to us without the men than with them for during the whole Day they got but Eight Guns off— Kept all hands at work notwithstanding it being the Sabbath. continued stowing Water in the Hold. One of the French Frigates in the Harbour went out this Morning. Carpenters and Caulkers at work as usual.—

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Monday 7th But little work going on this morning having discharged the Launch being unfit for the Service and waiting for the *Magnifique* Stage to get our Guns off took on board all the Water we had filled likewise all the Gun Carriages.— The 3d Lieutt. and Purser returned from St. Pierrs with a number of Sails and a few Slops.— Signals displayed this afternoon for the English Fleet being in the South Channel. it is a something extraordinary that the Bold Britains has not ventured as far as this Bay since Admiral D'Grass arrived here notwithstanding their superior force.

Tuesday 8th March. Employed the forenoon fitting Sails ready to bend. Bent the Jibb fore and Main Staysail. after Dinner got the Stage and took off the remainder of our Guns.— Launched the Rudder and hung it in it's place. One of the French Ships Launches and Crew assisting us brought on Board one Load of Shingle Ballast Several Sail of Merchantmen came round here this afternoon from St. Pierrs. Cutter watering to Casnavier. Carpenters making Partners to the Mainmast on the Quarter Deck &c.— Fresh Trade wind to day very pleasant.—

Wednesday 9th. All Hands employed bending Sails. bent the Courses Topsails Top G. Sails &c. a Canoe employed taking off Shingle Ballast. Washed and Scraped the Maindeck this morning.— afternoon several of the Ships Launches taking from Fort Royal a variety of Military Stores amongst which is Travelling Artillery Carriages Scaling Ladders Shot &c. from which appears an Expedition to be in agitation against some of the Islands. In the Evening a Negro Man was Executed on the Parade in Town for Robbery. Last Monday Morning arrived here three Americans who made their escape from the British Fleet

at St. Lucee in a Yawl which they took from a Transport on their way over they were drove to Leward of the Island & fortunatly taken up a by a Statia Vessel. they inform us of Mr. R. being carried in there in our Pinnace.

Thursday 10th March.— This morning Mr. D. an intimate acquaintance in Philadelphia came on board to see me, he came here Passenger in the *Fondonge* 74.— At 10 AM John Griffin departed this Life of a very short illness.— finished taking in Shingle Ballast this Morning after Meredian took on Board part of our Powder— set up all the Shrouds and Stays. Sailmakers employed altering the Mizen.— Finished the Partners of the Mainmast and all the Spars. discharged the french Carpenters.

Friday 11th Rain and Squally Weather. three Sail of Merchantmen arrived here from Granada. employed taking on board all the empty Water Casks— Light Spars &c. fixed in the Tiller and putting the running Rigging in order for Sailing.— Admiral D'Grass honored our Captain with a Visit this afternoon he is endeavouring to Negotiate an exchange of American Prisoners before we leave this Island.—

Saturday 12th Very heavy Rain this Morning received on board a Boat Load of Wood. English Fleet in sight all day.— took everything on board this forenoon— afternoon employed clearing and getting the Ship in order to Sail tomorrow morning for St. Pierrs.— took two Men, Americans, out of the French Fleet.—

Sunday 13th March. Break of Day this Morning hove the Ship ahead to her Anchor. took a Pilot on board at 8 AM Warped out of the Carnage and made Sail with a Light Breeze of wind. passed under the Admirals stern and Saluted him with Thirteen Guns and returned from

him with Nine, afterwards made Sail weather growing Squally, with Rain, obliged us to take in the Top G. Sails and double Reef the Topsails the Rigging being new and unstretched.— Beat into St. Pierrs and at 3 PM came to Anchor off the South part of the Town. hoisted out the Yawl Capta. went ashore.— employed the afternoon Mooring Ship in 33 Fathom Water.— At 4 PM. Simon Ashbow a Marine died suddenly having but a few days ago been discharged from the Hospital at Fort Royal after a severe illness.— In the Evening sent three Sick Men to the Hospital at St. Pierrs.

Monday 14th This morning Unship'd the Round house and sent it ashore unbent the foresail and sent it to the Sailmakers to be altered. Cutter watering at the Fountain Received on board One hundred and Eleven Barrels of Beef, a Quantity of Cheese Rice Butter &c. a Crew employed Scraping the Quarter deck. at Sundown a Fleet of 20 Sail of Merchantmen with 4 Ships of the Line came out of Fort Royal Bay and stood the Northward.—

Tuesday 15th Went ashore this Morning on Publick business with the Agent. returnd. on board before Dinner, received on Board a Quantity of Provisions of different kinds. continued taking on board Water. sent on board this afternoon by an Officer of the Ship Mr. G. twenty Hhds. of Rum in a Clandestine manner supposed to be on freight this extraordinary Proceeding has caused no small contentions in the Ship. soon after the Capa. in a Letter to G. prohibited anything being taken in the Ship on Freight but tomorrow must produce the Consequences arising from this unwarrantable transaction.

Wednesday 16th The Rum mentioned Yesterday to be taken on board was ordered out this Morning by the Captain

it was accordingly done but before it went from alongside thirteen Hhds of it was purchased for the use of the Ship and hoisted in again.— The *Resolution* Frigate arrived here this afternoon. took on board sundry Provisions.— Crew employed Stowing the Hold.— others fixing Rigging— altering Sails— and Marines making Musket Cartridges.— ashore at St. Pierrs a short time on business in the Evening.

Thursday 16th The Capta. and Agent came on board this fornoon. bent the foresail fitting Steering Sail Booms.— Mates stowing the Hold.— took on board a Quantity of Pees. arrived a brig this Evening from Salem 24 days out No News.

Friday 17th March. All Hands engaged about Sundry Ship Duties. Mates Stowing the Hold. at 11 AM went ashore and Dined with Mr. B— spent the remainder of the Day in Town, returned on board in the Evening. This being St. Patricks day the Ships Crew endeavored to Celebrate it in their way among others one of the Centinals was found drunk laying down on the Gangway he was immediately confined in Irons.—

Saturday 18th Early this morning two large English Ships and a Snow to Leward Standing to the Northward.— took on board a scow load of Bread this forenoon. at 11 AM went ashore and dined with Mr. T— spent the afternoon in Town.— The Embargo being taken off to day a number of Vessels sailed this Evening for different Ports.— received on board this Evening 21 Hhds. of Sugar on account of the Continent to Reimburse a Sum of Money belonging to a Private Gentleman in America which has been expended by Capa. Harding for the use of the Ship—

Sunday 19th Capta. Billings in a Pilot Boat sailed for Statia, by whom I forwarded Letters to Philadelphia. went

ashore about 11 AM. Dined and spent the afternoon with Mr. N- in St. Pierrs. very rainy Squally Weather all this day several Vessels sailed out of this Port in the Evening.— nothing more worthy Remark.

Monday 20th This forenoon continual Rain and very Sultry— at 11 AM went ashore with some of the Officers on private business— Dined with Capta. H- at Mr. Binghams who is gone to Fort Royal to make a final Settlement of his Publick business as he designs to leave the Island and go Passenger with us to America.— returned on board in the Evening.— All Hands employed about sundry necessary Dutys fitting the Ship. took a quantity of Bread on board about Noon.— filling water Stowing the Hold &c.—

Tuesday 21st At 1 O'Clock this morning an Officer came on board from the *Resolution* French Frigate with a request from the Governor to take on board Troops and proceed to Dominique in order to join the long expected Fleet. the Request was refered to the Captain who, in a proper Manner Answered it in the Negative.— at Daylight Count D'Grass Fleet in sight standing to the Northward in order to join the Grand fleet.— Almost all the Vessels in the Harbour this forenoon is Pressed as Transports in the Kings Service to carry Troops to join the Fleets.— from which it appears there is already an Expedition going forward against some of the English Islands.— It is reported that the English Fleet went into St. Lucee to Day.— The *Resolution* at daylight Joined the other Ships.— All Hands employed about sundry Duties such as scraping the Ships sides in order for Painting. Gunners Crew getting Steering Sail Booms aloft fixing Rigging. Marines filling Musket and Pistol Cartridges and Sailmakers altering Sails &c.

Wednesday 22d at 9 O'Clock this Morning the long

expected Fleet appeared coming from the Northward having being joined by Admiral D'Grass making in the whole upwards of 25 Sail of the Line exclusive of 8 or 10 Frigates having under their Convoy about 50 Sail of Transports, Merchantmen &c, amounting in the whole to upwards of 100 Sail making a very grand appearance— at 12 when abreast of this place about 30 Sail left them and beat up into this Harbour several others stood for Fort Royal— immediately afterwards the Ships of the Line made all Sail and stood over for St. Lucee in order to Besiege that Island its said they have about 13,000 Troops in this fleet besides the Troops of this Island a Regiment of which embarked this forenoon on board Transports and followed the Fleet. Ashore this forenoon on business our Commander has concluded to join this Fleet therefore the Ship is getting ready with all expedition Paying the Ships sides with Lampblack and Tar.— took on hhds. of Sugar being the remainder of the Sugar taken on account of the Continent.—

Thursday 23d March Very wet Weather winds variable all the fore Part of the Day— One of the french Ships which arrived Yesterday in Warping in like Frenchmen and Men unacquainted with the Management of a Ship came on board of us & carried away our Driver Boom— Last Night a Schooner arrived Express from Gl. Lincoln in S. Carolina requesting a Naval reinforcement being lately Invaded by a Body of Sea and Land Forces Two Boats with a Lieutt. in each Pressing thro' all the Vessels in the Harbor for Americans got but 5 Men.

Friday 24th March This morning the Captain sent off orders to Unmoor Ship and get ready for Sailing in order to join the French Fleet at Royal going on an Expedition Against the Island of St. Lucee. at 11 AM the Captain

came on board soon after the Ship was under way. standing under her Topsails alongshore at half past twelve boarded by a Boat with an Express from Mr. Bingham to return to St. Pierrs upon which the Capta. went to Town. at 1 O'Clock wore Ship and worked into our Usual Birth. before we put about saw the french Fleet coming out of the Bay and standing over for St. Lucee. we are now to return to America as soon as possible.—

Saturday 25th March. Shifted all the Guns on one side the Deck and heeled the Ship and Boutoped her both side. at the same time scraped the Gun deck. at 10 AM. being the Anniversary of the Resurrection all the Ships colours for two days past being hoisted half Mast on discharge of a Gun from one the Ships were hoisted in their proper places and every Vessel in the Harbor fired a Salute at the same instant the shore being crowded with Negroes on the firing of the first Gun they all Leaped into the Sea and Bathed this strange Custom prevails I'm informed thro' all the Roman Catholick Country's. spent the Day in Town dined with Messrs. B-t-n & M-t- No certain accts. from the Fleet

Sunday 26th March The Ships Crew on board employed all the forenoon cleaning Ship between Decks fore and Aft— very warm sultry Weather with frequent Showers of Rain.— a strong Press ashore today for Men for the French fleet an instance not common and I believe unprecedented before in the French Navy. reports prevail of a long and heavy Fire being heard yesterday at St. Lucee, but no particulars Authenticated.— Ashore after Dinner Walked a few Miles out of Town with an acquaintance to a very fine Sugar Plantation upon which is very good Improvements and well Stockd. on our return took a turn thro' one of the

Holy Fathers Gardens in the invirons of the Town, found it a large plain Garden well planted with Sallads & some West-India fruits in the Evening appeared a Ship to Leeward having lost some of her principal Spars.—

Monday 27th Two Merchantmen arrived this Morning from Fort Royal Stationed and Quartered our Men this forenoon. ashore all day on business Dined at Mr. Bingham's.— Signals displayed ashore for a fleet of 20 Sail being in the South Channel its reported an English Frigate is taken at St. Lucee.— Mr. Pr— & his Lady with three others in company came on board in the afternoon to view an American Frigate—

Tuesday 28 March In the forenoon received on board a large quantity of Cocoa Ship'd by Mr. Bingham.— ashore the greatest part of the Day on private business. several sail of Transport Sloops with Troops which Sailed from here on an Expedition under the Convoy of the *Resolution* Frigate. Hoisted the Cutter on board in the Evening.— cleared Ship in order for Sailing.

Wednesday 29th At sunrise this Morning unmoored Ship and hove short to one Anchor in order for Sailing—in Town the fore Part of the Day on Private business. The Captain came on board in the forenoon. the Wind being ahead all Day prevented our Sailing. The Captas. of four American Vessels on board receing Signals and Orders who is going under our Convoy. In the Evening four or five Sail of Small Ships with a 74 beating into the Harbor from Fort Royal. Mr. Bingham sent on board the greatest part of his Baggage this Evening.— at 9 O'Clock the above mentd. 74 coming in hove in Stays alongside of us and run stern on against our Mizen Chains carried away her Gibb Boom we cleared her with any other loss or damage than one of our Mizen shrouds.

PRIVATE JOURNAL ON BOARD THE "CONFEDERACY"
FRIGATE KEPT BY CAPTAIN JOSEPH HARDY
IN COMMAND OF MARINES—CON-
TINUED (MS.)

REMARK'S &C ON BOARD THE "CONFEDERACY"
FRIGATE AT SEA.

Thursday 30th March 1780 Signal for Sailing displayed early this Morning, got under way at St. Pierrs at 10 AM. with 3 Brigs 1 Schooner and Sloop under our Convoy bound to America.— stretched under easy Sail along the Town, past Eleven Mr. Bingham came on board who is going Passenger with us to America.— at 12. Saluted the Ships and Town with 13 Guns the Commodore returned it with Eleven. bore away and set Top G. Sails.— two of the Brigs Sailing very dull obliged us to shorten Sail at sundown under double reifted Topsails Brigs astern with all Sail set— at sunset the North end of Martinique bore E. distance 7 Leagues. Dominica NE by N distance 8 Leagues moderate weather Course NW.—

Friday 31st All the Convoy in company this day.— Two of the Ships company taken this Morning with small Pocks built an Awning over the Cutter on the Booms for them to prevent it spreading in the Ship as there is a number of the Crew that have not had it, who is preparing by a course of Diet and Medicine in case they shou'd catch it.— Light Trade Winds Steering this last 12 hours W.N.W. under the three Topsails and foresail, the Brigs astern with all Sail set Steering sails &c.— Exercised the Great Guns and small Arms after Dinner.— at 3 PM. a small Sail in sight on the Weather Quarter.— Lattitude by Observation at Me-

redian $15^{\circ} 27''$ N. at sunset the Island of Dominica in sight bearing N by E. distance 15 or 16 Leagues. Nevis

Saturday 1st April Pleasant moderate weather Wind S.E. Course NW by W. set the foresail and Main T.G. Sail. Fleet close up with us in the forenoon.— some of the Islands in sight to the N. Westward.— in the afternoon dropt the Fleet astern took in the Foresal & Main TG. Sail.— in the forepart of the Night small Showers of Rain.— Latt. by Observ. at Meridian $16^{\circ} 04''$ N.— Nevis bearing NE. by N. distance 16 or 17 Leagues.

Sunday 2d This morning light Squalls of Rain thick and cloudy all the forenoon at 12 saw a Sail on our Weather Bow standing for us supposed to be a Brig or Schooner almost Calm made all Sail set steering Sails &c. and gave Chace very little headway at half past twelve the weathering clearing away discovered the Island St. Croix right a head bearing NNW continued in Chace course NW sent the 2d Lieutt. with 20 Men on board the fast Sailing Brig in order to give Chace but the wind being light & the Sail a great distance gave over Chace, took in Sail and kept away for the West end of the Island Course NW. Lattitude at Meredian by Observation $17^{\circ} 12''$ North. at 12 at Night ran close up with the Land saw several Lights ashore. kept away West running for the West end of the Island.

Monday 3d At 5 O'Clock this morning passing the West end of St. Croix with a light Breeze of wind hauled up N. the Convoy in company. This Island is much more low and Level than Martinique extremely well Cultivated with the common produce a small Town in sight at the W. end where 7 or 8 Sail of large Ships lay. at 6 O'Clk a Schooner some distance astern supposed to be a Cruizer. at 9 the Island of St. Thomas's in sight ahead and other of the Vir-

gin Islands the same time saw a large Brig to windward between the two Islands appearing to be a Cruizer by her Action. at 5 PM past the Sail Rock it appears very much like a large Sail when you first make it as its very white, run between it and the Island of St. Thomas on our right with a great number of small Islands uninhabited a very heavy swell heaving from the Northward. Course NNW. Wind East, after Sunset the Island of St. Thomas bore E by S. distance 6 Leagues. The Sail Rock distance all the Fleet in company. Lat. by Obs. at Meridian $17^{\circ} 57''$ North.

Tuesday 4th April Light Winds and very Variable all day with a heavy head swell from the Northward. Course N.N.W. The Ship being out of Trim and light Winds &c. the Fleet run ahead of us. in the Evening the fleet joined us. Latt. by Observation at Meridian $19^{\circ} 07''$ N.

Wednesday 5th This morning before Sunrise a sail discovered from the Masthead three points on the Lee bow, light wind made all Sail and gave Chace at 8 OClk. lost sight of the Chace in the haize. two of our Convoy left us and kept their Course during the Chace, the others following on. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine cou'd not perceive the Sail gave up the Chace and took in light Sails kept our former Course again N.N.W. with a pleasant Breeze but a Tumbling Sea under foresail two Topsails and Top G. Sails. After Meridian the wind very light and Ship rolling very heavy.— at 4 PM. the Maintopmast discovered to be badly sprung in two different places occasioned its supposed by the immoderate Rolling of the Ship. this may be called a very unfortunate accident for Us in our present situation as we have but a very indifferent and only spare one to replace it with, but when we recollect the Distresses and and dis-

agreeable events of our late Passage we can or ought to look upon this as a trifling circumstance. sent the Main T.G. mast and Yard down.— at 5 PM all our Convoy joined us again.— hauled the Ship up NE. to ease her.— in the forenoon Crews employed shifting Ballast out of the after hold, forward, to bring the Ship in better Trim.— The Commander has concluded to fish the Topmast. Carpenters preparing a Fish for it— stood our course again in the Evening N.N.W. almost Calm. double reefed the N.T. sail.— Latitude by Observation at Meredian 20° N.

Thursday 6th April Light Airs almost Calm the forepart of the Day— afternoon entire Calm, Ships head alround the Compass no head way. Fished the Topmast in the Evening. Latt. by Observation $21^{\circ} 19''$ N.

Friday 7th Entire Calm all the forenoon Ships head all round the Compass. the Convoy all in sight. got up the Main T.G. mast and Yard. set up the Rigging fore and Aft. After Meredian took a fresh Breeze from the Northward made Sail Course NW. by W.— breeze freshens in the middle of the Afternoon at sundown two of the Brigs a great distance a Stern. the french Brig Sloop and Schooner in Company all Night. very Squally in the Night. Latitude by Observation at Meredian $21^{\circ} 33''$ N. Longitude $65^{\circ} 19''$ W.— St. Thomas's bearing S. 28° E. distance 231 Miles.— Cape Hatteras N 36° W. distance 1013 Miles.—

Saturday 8th April This morning Capta. Coolidge and the Salem Brig out of sight. the French Brig, Schooner and Sloop in company. Fresh Breezes under easy Sail, Wind hauled to the Eastward last Night Course NNW.— in the after part of the Day breeze lighter. saw a small Sail from the Masthead to windward, being late in the day did not Chace.— Latt. at Meredian

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Sunday 9th Light moderate Breezes from the with a tumbling Sea. under all Sail with the Convoy in company. in the forenoon our Chaplain delivered a short discourse to the Ships Company. in the Evening the Wind hauled to the blowing a fresh Breeze all Night.— double Riefed the Topsails under the three Topsails and foresail Course NW by N.— Latt. by Observation

Monday 10th April Fresh Breezes and Cloudy the forepart of the day. at Meredian a heavy Squall of Rain Thunder & Lightening took us from the Westward weathered it very well having taken in all Sail but Foresail and forestaysail. at 2 PM cleared away Light winds hauling to the Northward made Sail Course In the Evening the Brig and Sloop in company the Schooner almost out of sight astern. the Wind continues hauling to the Eastward. No Observation to Day.—

Tuesday 11th Last Night George Reynolds one of the Men who had the small Pox died of it, the other is perfectly recovered. very pleasant moderate Weather Wind Course under all Sail. D. O'Bryan received Corporal Punishment this Morning at the Gangway for Stealing Cloaths.— Fresh Breezes in the afternoon at 3 PM. saw a Sail from the Masthead to windward on the Beam standing before the Wind at $\frac{1}{2}$ past four saw her off Deck when she hauled her Wind to the Southward she was a large Schooner she was judged too far to Windward to Chace at this time of day the Brig Schooner and Sloop in company— Latitude at Meredian by Observation

Wednesday 12th April All this day Calm very little head way Course NNW.— no particular Transactions this 24 hours— dead Calm all Night all Sail set with the Brig Schooner and Sloop in Company.— Lat. by Obs. $28^{\circ} 05''$ North—

Thursday 13th This morning the Sailmakers Mate died of a Dissentry. Calm all the forepart of the day. Exercised the Men at the Great Guns, and the Marines with Powder.— Light Air of wind in the afternoon from the Nd. Course W by S. at 4 PM saw a Sail right ahead nearing us fast made all Sail displayed Signal for the Brig to Chace. The Chace at $\frac{1}{2}$ past four put about and stood from us and perceived her to be a Cutter continued the Chace untill Sundown when we lost sight of her. gave over Chace, almost Calm throwed out Signals for the Brig to give over Chace.— Latitude by Observation at Meredian $28^{\circ} 05''$ N. Long.

Friday 14th At break of day this morning discovered the above mentioned Sloop or Cutter under our Lee bearing SW distance Leagues. bore away made all Sail & gave Chace with a light wind at NE The Chace bore away and made all sail— the French Brig gave Chace continued it some time without gaining at 10 finding she gained from us fast gave over Chace and hauled our Wind, Rieft the Topsails, Breeze freshens Course NNW. Last Night Southerly Grinnell, one of the Marines departed this Life.— in the afternoon blows a fresh Breeze double Riefed the Topsails very thick Cloudy weather. Lat at Meredian $28^{\circ} 09''$ N Long. $71^{\circ} 13''$ W.— Cape Henlopen N 16° W. distance 670 Miles.—

Saturday 15th One of this Ships company taken this Morning with the small Pox.— Fresh Breezes at East in the forenoon under all Sail with the Brig and Sloop in company. after Meredian the Wind freshens and very variable took in Sail. in the Evening blows fresh at SE and by S. with Squalls. close Rieft. the Topsails sent down the Top G. Yards. Lat by Obs $30^{\circ} 05''$ N. Long. $72^{\circ} 13''$

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W.— Cape Henlopen bearing N. 14° W. distance 538 Miles.

Sunday 16th Fresh Breezes this Morning but variable under Snug Sail Wind Course at 10 AM. wore Ship with our head the Sloop Capa. Munroe out of sight astern. afternoon the Winds moderates veers and hauls—split the Mizen Topsail got it down and mended it by 12 at Night and bent it again.— at 6 PM wore Ship with the Brig in company Lat. by Obs. at M. $31^{\circ} 41''$ North.—

Monday 17th Fresh Breezes all the forepart of the Day Course under easy Sail with the Brig in company. after Meredian almost Calm. in the Evening frequent Squalls of wind and heavy Rains attended with Thunder and Lightening No Observation to Day.—

Tuesday 18th Constant heavy Squalls of wind and Rain. handed the Topsails under snug Sail Winds SSW Course variable at Meredian weather more moderate made Sail—at 2 PM heavy Squalls of Wind and Rain again took in Sail Wind SW— Course in general NNW.— No Observation to day very thick and Cloudy.

Wednesday 19th At six O'Clock this morning heavy Squall of Wind carried away our Mizen Gnaff got him down Carpenters employed fishing him.— at Meredian fresh Gales of wind at NW. Course N by E. with a rough Sea being in the Gulf Stream. at 2 PM continues blowing fresh in foresail Lay the Ship too under her fore-Main and Mizenstaysails head up N by E. off NE. the Brig in Company. at 7 weather moderates made Sail and got up the Mizen Gaft. at 11 brot. too again under Staysails and lay all night Lat by poor Obs. $35^{\circ} 09'$. Long. $72^{\circ} 53''$ W. Hatteras N. 54° W. dist 166 miles. Cape Henlopen N 24° W dist 242 Miles.—

Thursday 20th April Early this morning made Sail Wind WNW. Course N. at 7 perceived the Water coloured Sounded with 138 fathom of Line no bottom found— At Meridian fresh Gales and clear weather took in Sail under the foresail and Staysails blows fresh all the afternoon Wind Course towards sunset the Wind moderates made Sail again with the Brig in company.— Latitude by Observation at Meridian $36^{\circ} 38''$ N.— Longt. $72^{\circ} 22''$ W.— Cape Hatteras S. $69^{\circ} 15''$ W. distance 206 Miles. Cape Henlopen N. $40^{\circ} 58'$ Wt. distance 175 Miles.—

Friday 21st Pleasant Breezes at NW with smooth Sea Course NNE. at 4 AM wore Ship Course W.S.W. under the Topsails and Courses. at 3 P.M. winds variable and ahead Tacked Ship course N. by W. out Rief in the Topsails.— the weather pleasant but wind continues variable.— Lat by Obs. $37^{\circ} 19''$ N. Long. $72^{\circ} 04''$ W. C. Henlopen N 56° W. dist. 163 Miles.—

Saturday 22d At 7 O'Clock this morning Sounded no bottom found fresh Breezes at W by N. course N. and clear weather at 11 AM saw a sail on the Lee bow made Sail and gave Chace the Chace was large Sloop at 1 PM. the Chace leaving us fast gave over Chace the Ship Sails exceeding bad. hauled our Wind Course N.N.W. at sundown a fresh breeze very thick and Cloudy close Rif'd the Topsls. sent down T.G. Yds. 12 at Night wore Ship in compy with the Brig course S by W. Lat at Meridian by Obs. $38^{\circ} 15''$ W. Long. $71^{\circ} 40'$ Wt. Cap H. dist 156 miles.—

Sunday 23d April Cool, clear and pleasant weather Wind NW. Course WSW. fresh Breezes and flying Clouds at Meridian took in Top G. Sails.— several of our People broke out with the small Pox. afternoon weather moderate and very smooth Sea Winds variable but continues ahead. at 6

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AM sounded with 130 fathom of Line and no bottom at 7. the wind more favorable at WNW. wore Ship Course NNW. Lattitude at Meredian by Obs. $38^{\circ} 15''$ N. Long $72^{\circ} 04'$ W. Cape H bearing N. 75° W. dist 138 Miles.

Monday 24th The weather moderate this forenoon—Winds WNW. After Meredian a Schooner discovered to windward standing down for us— hove out English Colours and fired a Lee Gun she soon answered by first hauling her wind with an English Jack at her Mainmast head— she soon afterwards hove about and stood the Southward. kept on our Course thinking it ineffectual to Chace in Light Winds The Brig hoisted English Colours over American to appear as a Prize to us but it had no effect. very moderate Weather in the Evening very little Wind Course WNW. under all Sail at 9 AM. saw two Lights on the Land sounded in 16 fathom and Wore Ship stood off to the Eastd. untill 11. deepend. the Water to 24 and wore Ship again Course NW under easy Sail. Lat at Mered. $38-11$ N. Cap. H N $63^{\circ} 24'$ W. dis 72 miles

Tuesday 25th April Light Airs of wind this Morning at 7. Wore Ship Course W by N.— at 11. AM. Calm sounded in 23 Fathom Water at 12 very thick and Cloudy with Rain sounded in 21 Fathom water.— at 1 PM took a pleasant Breeze from the Southward stood our Course in for the Land. at 3. the Light house and Cape Henlopen discovered on the Lee bow immediatly made all Sail set Steering Sails &c. and stood in for the Land at 8 O'Clock came to Anchor in company with the Brig off the Light House, very dark and Squally in the Evening.

Wednesday 26th At Daylight this morning found ourselves within the Light-house it bearing E.S.E.— blowing very fresh at N.E.— made Signals for a Pilot by firing

several Guns &c. at 6. the Ship drifted bent a shroud hauser to the small Bower Cable as it is but indifferent and let go the small bower. at 10. hove in the best bower Cable and found the Anchor gone bent the stream Cable to the Stream Anchor in order to let him go. At 12 the Gale increasing got down T.G. Masts. Continued making Signals for a Pilot but no appearance of any coming off and the wind increasing with a heavy Sea accompany'd with Rain about 1 AM lowered down the lower Yards, got the Topsail Yards in the Tops and Stript the Mizen. blow so heavy that we expected to go ashore on the Cape. about 3 PM. the wind and sea very heavy and the Ship thought in eminent danger of going ashore, having no Pilot on board in case the Ship shou'd part her other Anchor the 2d Lieutt. at his own request went with 6 Men in the Yawl to Lewis-town by the way of the Creek for a Pilot.— continues blowing heavy all the afternoon let go all the Ground tackling we had.— at Dark no Pilot off or appearance of our Boat returning. the Brig in company riding at Anchor.—

Thursday 27th April The Gale moderating this morning still safe at Anchor the Weather very thick cold and Cloudy no Boat off. Fired signal Guns. very moderate at Meredian. much surprized at the delay of our boat. sent a Midshipman ashore to enquire about our Boat the barge returned on board the Brig.— about 2 AM. discovered Mr. Fisher launching a Boat on the Beach without any of our People.— a bad Omen, my forbodeing heart, tells me some unhappy unforeseen disaster has taken place

From the foregoing Date (Thursday 27th April) to the present Day the Ship lay at Philada. and Chester.— Careening, Rigging, Manning &c. being near seven Months

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Tuesday December 5th 1780 Having a Pilot on board, got under way with light Wind at WSW. and dropt down below Marcus-hook where we came to Anchor with our best Bower.—

Wednesday 6th December pleasant moderate weather light winds, but still contrary at S.W.— the Cutter returned from Philadelphia with a number of Men.— at 11 AM got under way and dropt down to the Highlands of Wilmington and came too.

Thursday 7th Calm thick, cloudy weather.— Officers employed all day stationing and Quartering our Men. at 5 O'Clk. PM got under way with light winds from the Northward and Westward run down below Wilmington came too, in the Night the third Lieutt. came on board from Philadela. accompanied by two french Gentlemen one the late Counsel the other Vice-Consel at Charles-town in S. Carolina, which indicates that we are bound on another Merchant-Voyage to the West-Indies.—

Friday 8th Sent up T.G. Yards— got under way at 10 AM with light winds ahead dropt down about a mile below N. Castle, brought a Shallop alongside took out of her 5 Cords of Wood and 8 Quarters of Beef.— took three Deserters out of some Merchtmen. blows very fresh at SSE.— prest 3 Men (being the first) out of a Schooner

Saturday 9th Took a Cutter load of Ballast on board, thick cloudy weather Winds ahead— went ashore in afternoon in company with the Surgeon to Newcastle, spent the Evening very agreeably with a number of female acquaintances. continued ashore all Night.—

Sunday 10th The Commander of the Shallop from whom we got the Wood informed us of three Seamen being at Port Penn in Cog. judging them to be some of our

Deserters, last Night the 3d Lieutt. was dispatched in the Barge to take them which effected by surprising in them Bed, and returned with them this morning about 10 O'Clock. at the same time returned on board from N Castle with my Companion. immediatly after Dinner accompanied the Captain ashore to N Castle in order to Purchase his Stock in the Evening engaged Mr. Fallow to Purchase them.— staid ashore all Night, spent the Evening with the Ladies— wind continues ahead.—

Monday 11th Turned out early this morning with the Captain and walked several miles along shore gathering the Stock at the farm-houses— returned in Town about Eleven. having compleated our business returned on board about 4 OClock PM. in the Evening bending the Mainsail a Man fell off the Main yard on the Gunwale of a Boat alongside which killed him by his immediatly sinking.— Winds ahead— preparing the Ship for Sea.—

Tuesday 12th Went in the Barge this morning to New-castle on business for the Captain returned on board about Eleven. Impressed seven Men out of a Schooner from Sea a light Breeze of Wind from the North. got under way and run down and Anchored at Reedy Island.—

Wednesday 13th Pleasant Weather this morning with the Wind to the Southward which brought up three Vessels from Sea the Brig *Trooper*, *Randolph* and Schooner *Nep-tune*, fired several Shot and brought them to Anchor. Mann'd and Armed the Barge and Cutter, impressed seven Men out of the Brig *Randolph* and three out of the Schooner.— a Lieutt. in the Barge boarded the Brig *Trooper*, mountg. 16 Guns between Decks, close Quarters, where her Crew was Mustered amountg. to near 100 well Armed with a resolute determination not to be Pressed but at the

expençe of Blood— after using menaces and threats of hauling the Brig alongside &c. finding it had no impression and that our Commander had no Authority to impress Men the design was given up.— but had he been invested with power similar to the British Navy in such Cases, we cou'd have found methods to have taken the refusal of her Men, without endangering lives.— finally she was permitted to get under way and proceed on her Passage to Pha.— the Barge went on board the *Count D'Grasse* to search for Men but found none in the afternoon exercised the Great Guns and Marines.—

Thursday 14th At 6 OClock AM hove up, got under way run 6 or seven Miles below Reedy Isld. the Wind failing came to Anchor the Wind to the Northd. and Westward, the Ships Company in the forenoon employed cleaning Ship the remainder of the Day employed in Exercising the great Guns and small Arms.

Friday 15th Thick cloudy disagreeable Weather, winds variable and ahead. Cutter went to Port Penn Watering.— Mates employed birthing the Volunteers and sick.

Saturday 16th At 5 AM the Cutter returned with a load of water. all hands employed clearing Ship. at one PM the wind being ahead and likely to blow fresh got the Ship under way and run back to the Island— a Man died sent him ashore to be Buried.— the Gunners Mate sent to Philada. to the Hospital.— Exercised at the Guns and small Arms.—

Sunday 17th Very foggy thick weather all day.— the Ship *Genl. Greene* just Built at Morris-River, went up the River to be fitted.— Winds very light and variable cleaned Ship, with other Dutys took up the Day.—

Monday 18th at 10 AM the Sloop of War *Saratoga*,

came down and Anchored at Reedy Island. foggy weather wind to the Southward, Mates employed in Birthing the People— Capa. Young of the *Saratoga* paid us a visit this afternoon he is bound on a Cruize and designs to go out with us. in the Evening exercised the Cannon and Marines.—

Tuesday 19th December Cloudy weather warm pleasant Winds from the Westward at 10 O'Clock A.M. the Schooner *Fame* from St. Croix, came up, brought her too & pressed 6 Men out of her.— the Barge went to Port penn & returned in the Evening.— loosed sails to dry. in the afternoon Officers employed, Mustering the Men correcting the Watch and Quarter bills &c.— Exercised the Marines with Powder for the first time performed beyond expectations.— We now Muster near 260 Men.—

Wednesday 20th Light winds from the Northd. & Westward, got under way in company with the *Saratoga* and 13 sail of Merchantmen run down about 2 leagues being Calm the fleet came too.— at 10 AM. sprung up a fresh Breeze at NW the fleet got under way and stood down the Bay as low as Bombo-hook when the Weather growing very squally and tide most spent the Pilot thinking it dangerous to run in such weather came to Anchor again. the remainder of the fleet with the *Saratoga* stood down the Bay.— continued squally all day.

Thursday 21st This morning clear weather with a fresh breeze at NW. by W. got under way, stood down the Bay, spoke with the *Minerva* Capa. Earle from the Havannah at Anchor in the Bay. at 1 PM. abreast the lighthouse hove the Barge out, set the Pilot ashore with two Women and a sick Man— at 2 the Barge returned hoisted her in, and made sail Course S.E.— at 4 PM. the light house bore NW by W. distance by estimation 4 leagues.— at sundown two Brigs in

Company that joined us at Cape Henlopen the weather moderate—

Friday 22d pleasant moderate Weather this forenoon under easy Sail Winds light at S.E. steering E by N.— in the afternoon let a Reef out of the Topsails & set stay sails light Winds from S. to SW. steering S.E. the Brigs in Company. quite Calm at dark No Observation to day.—

Saturday 23d Light Winds at NNW. Course S.E. in the morning.— at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six saw a sail on the Larboard bow. growing entirely Calm cou'd not Chace, at 9 a very light breeze from the Southward made Sail and gave Chace— out Riefs in the Topsails set the Mainsail and stay-sails fore and aft at 11 set all sail, breeze at 1 AM freshens under all sail in Chace— at 2 PM finding we did not gain much on the Chace gave it up and took in all light Sails— during the Chace Winds SW. Chaced E. NE— and NE by E.— Latitude by Observation at Meridian $39^{\circ}-30''$ N. Longitude in $72^{\circ}-29''$ W.

Sunday 24th December Moderate pleasant weather under easy Sail. Winds at North. Steering S.E. in the Morning saw a Sail to the Southward take her to be the Brig that came out with us.— the other Brig parted from us during the Chace yesterday. got up T.G. Yards this morning. Lat by Observation at Meridian $37^{\circ} 40''$ N.—

Monday 25th at 7 AM made a Sail distance three four Leagues ahead gave Chace, at 8 made sail by the wind Steering from ESE. to SSE. with a fresh breeze at SW. at 10 AM came up with the Chace, proved to be the brig our Consort, shortened Sail. at 1 PM the wind freshens handd. the fore & Mizen topsails.— a Crew employed taking in the slack of the Lee rigging. at 4 close reified the foretop-sail, at 6 blowing very fresh handed the Maintopsail and

set storm Mizen staysail.— blowed fresh all Night with a heavy Sea from WSW. Ship Labours excessively. Main rigging being very bad stretches greatly.— Latt. by Observ. at Meridian $36^{\circ} 41' N.$ —

Tuesday 26th The Main rigging during last Night stretched amingly being my morning Watch on Deck, at 6 O'Clock blowing heavy and ship roling immoderatly, sprung the Mainmast about 15 foot above Deck, lowered down the Main Yard immediatly to ease the Mast.— all hands imployed taking in the slack of the Main rigging, and securing the Mast by preventer Shrouds, Runners & Tackles &c. at 1 PM fresh Gails at W.N.W. Course S.E. Ship under her foresail and storm Staysails, labours exceedingly at PM all hands employed securing the Mainmast.— the Mainrigging continues stretching, took in the slack of it again as well as the Weather wou'd admit— set up the fore-rigging also, and topmast back stays. continues blowing with a heavy Sea. Lat by Obs. $35^{\circ} -09'' N.$ —

Wednesday 27th Weather continues bad blowing at NNW, very heavy, at 9 set the Mainstaysail and close rief't foretopsail, at 1 AM set MTM. staysail and Mizen t. sail.— at 2 Wore Ship Course ENE. took in the topsails. at 4 employed getting up other preventer Shrouds under the Cheeks of the Mainmast.— ships labouring so much with the slackness of the Main rigging drawed three of the Main chain plate bolts of the weather shrouds. Carpenters employed refitting them. in the Evening very squally with rain.— Lat by Obs. $33^{\circ} 00''$ at Meridian Bermudas bearing $S 71^{\circ} E.$ distance 133 Miles.—

Thursday 28th at 5 OClock this morning wore ship S.S.E. our Course Winds WNW— Weather moderates but squally, set fore & Mizen topsail, MT.M. staysail & Mizen

at 12 saw the Island of Bermudas bearing SW distance 6 or 7 leagues. Wore ship to the Eastward, fresh Breezes and Cloudy. at 2 PM saw a Brig standing down for us on our Weather bow bearing N.N.E. got up fore top G. Mast.— the day being far advanced, the Mainyard down and Mainmast not properly secured or fished it was thought most proper not to Chace her.— at 6 PM Course S.E. the weather moderating. some of our People broke out with the small Pox. Lat at Meridian by Observation $32^{\circ} 37''$ N.

Friday 29th Pleasant moderate weather Winds at East Course at Meridian South.— all the Carpenters employed fishing the Mainmast.— under moderate sail— pleasant Breezes in the afternoon with squalls of Rain.— Latitude by Observation at Meridian $31^{\circ}-16''$ N.— Bermudas bearing NW by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W distance 124 Miles.— Turks Island SW by S $\frac{1}{4}$ W. distance 749 miles.

Saturday 30th at 5 this morning Samuel Collins a Marine departed this Life. Winds very variable general course S by W. with squalls of Rain.— a Crew employed wounding the Mainmast.— in the afternoon squally & Hazy handed the Topsails, and at 4 finished the Mainmast.— at 6 wore Ship Course WNW. Wind SE by E.— Lat. at Meridian $29^{\circ} 43''$ N.—

Sunday 31st December 1780 Blowing squally weather with heavy Rain. Wind S.W. laying too under the foresail and Mizen staysail. Ships head up ESE. off East.— at 5 in the Morning Asa Durfey a Boy Departed this Life.— the weather more moderate and pleasant in the afternoon made a little Sail Course S. Wind W.— Latitude at Meridian by Obs. $29^{\circ} 37''$ N.

Monday 1st of January 1781 at 7 AM. made a sail bearing West— hauled our Wind and gave Chace.— the Main

yard being on deck swayed it up.— swayed up T.G.M. and yards, set the Mainsail M. T. sail and T. G. sails a very rough tumbling Sea, but weather pleasant fresh breezes at at NW steering S.W. continued the Chace untill 3 PM when finding we did not gain much on her took in sail gave over Chace.— the Chace a great advantage of us before we cou'd make sail our Mainyard being upon deck &c. or we shou'd have come up with her. during the Chace carried away the Jaws of the derrick lowerd. it down Carpenters employed Night mending it.— in the Evening Rief't Topsails— Weather very pleasant with a Trade Wind at E. Course S by E. died of the small Pox.— Lat by Ob. $28^{\circ} 22''$ N. Bermudas bearing N 21 W. dist. 251 miles. Turks Island S 47° W dist 611 Miles.—

Tuesday January 2d 1781 Pleasant Weather out riefs in the Topsails, set T.G. Sails, Staysails, & fore T.M. steering sail Wind E. Course S by W.— got up the Mizzen derrick.— all hands on Deck employed cleaning Ship— in the Evening took in light Sails.— Latitude by Observation at Meridian $26^{\circ} 20''$ N—

Wednesday 3d This morning pleasant weather and fresh Breezes at E.N.E. Ship under fresh way, at 8 OClock a Man dropt overboard, hove the Ship too throwed out the Jolly boat, the Man considerable distance astern swimming well, Jolly got to him took him, he was expiring— took the boat in and made Sail. Course S.W.— Ships Crew employed cleaning hammocks, & between decks.— set up the Topmasts Riggging.— Latitude at Meridian $23^{\circ} 35''$ N. Longitude $62^{\circ} 51''$ W. Turks Island bearing S. 73° W distance 432 Miles.—

Thursday 4th pleasant weather and fresh Breezes at ENE. Steering S.W. lay too all Night under the Topsails—

All hands cleaning Ship. Lat by Obs $21^{\circ}39''$ N.— Yesterday having passed the Tropick line this day was celebrated in the usual manner.—

Friday 5th January At 5 this morning made Sail Course W. Winds E.N.E.— at 12 O'Clock a sail discovered from the fore T G mast head distance 8 or 9 Leagues. made all sail and gave Chace. by sundown gained more than half the distance. kept sight of her after Night— suppose her to be a Ship— continued the Chace— got Ship clear for Action.— at 10 PM came up alongside of the Chace— hailed her— she answered from Liverpool in Nova-scotia bound to Turks Island— concluded her a prize.— sent the Barge on board of her— brought the Capta. on board who finding us to be Americans said he was from Salem bound to the aforementioned. Island and produced two sets of Papers, upon which the Capta. thought proper to take her into Cape francay for Tryal— she is loaded with Ballast— lay too all Night under the Topsails.— Lat at Meredian $21^{\circ}31''$ N. Turks Isld S. 88 W dist 170 Miles

Saturday 6th at 7 O'Clock this Morning saw a Sail in the S.E.— made sail and gave Chace Course S.S.E.— at 12— the Chace kept away— our Course WSW. gaining on her.— at 4 P.M. having gained within two Miles of the Chace— and making the Turks Islands ahead— to bring her too— fired a shot but had no effect we continued the Chace gaining but little— at sundown the Chace discovering the Land Wore Ship and stood for it— we fired eight or ten bow Chaces at her without the desired effect— and the Land being close aboard bearing W by N. distance six Leagues thought proper to give over Chace— she appeared to be an American Brig.— took in sail reefed topsails and hauled by the Wind Course the Prize Brig in Company.— Lat. by Obs. at Meridian $21^{\circ}21''$ N. Long. $68^{\circ}58''$ Wt.

Sunday 7th Stood off and on last Night under the Topsails to the Northward and Southward.— at daylight made sail Course SSW. at 9 saw the Grand Turk bearing S by W.— saw a brig to windward running along the Land— at 10 she anchored in Turks Island road— at 12 run into the road astern of her under English Colours. hove too and sent the Barge on board of her as belonging to the British *Venus* Frigate. she proved to be from Nantucket, therefore quitted her. the Barge taken in made sail. at this harbor a Town composed of a number of small huts inhabited by Bermudians who come there to make salt— of which we saw a sufficient to load a hundred sail of Ships— this Island is about 5 or 6 Miles long entirely barren being covered with Rocks and shrubs, producing nothing but salt which is formed by nature in large Ponds on the Island, there is six or seven more of these Islands all in sight but very small without Inhabitants some of them has salt Ponds. at 6½ OClock passed the sand key the Southermost & Westernmost of these Islands & at sundown it bore N.E. Course S by W.— at 9 AM SW by S.—

Monday Januy. 8th At 7 this morning saw the Island of Hispanolia and the Cape Francis bearing S. 7 or 8 Leagues Wind ESE. Course SW by S. found ourselves to Leeward of the Cape. at 8 Tacked Ship stood to the ENE. Wind to the S.E. Tacked again W— and stood in for the Cape. met a number of small Vessels coming out at 2 PM up with the Cape and took on board a Pilot— on the this Cape Land stands a very strong fort at ½ past 2 came to Anchor opposite the Town— it appears near as large as St. Pierrs and very regularly Built situated under two very high mountains.— oppisite the Town over the harbor is a small Village called Petit Anse which some years ago was

laid out and intended for the Town of Cape Francway (the present one at that time being Destroyed by fire) but they rebuilt it as at present therefore the other tho' situated on a fine and extensive Plain did not succeed in their attempts, tho' equally as advantageous as to the Harbour but the Inhabitants at the time of the Conflagration being possessed of Ground Estates in the Town thought it less expensive to Rebuild on their Lots.— The Town Village aforementioned. being 2 Miles distance & opposite forms the harbour in breadth its about 5 Miles in length, capable of containing 300 Sail of Ships and very safe in all Weather being defended at the Mouth by several reefs of Rocks which break off the Sea in the greatest hurricanes— at 3 O'Clock AM hoisted out the Barge the Capa. & Passengers went ashore Moored Ship— a great number of Merchantmen in the harbor from different Ports— the Ship *Flora* arrived here about half an hour before we did— who sailed in Company with the *Saratoga* the day before we did—

Tuesday 9th Exceeding Warm here untill 10 or 11 O'Clock when the Sea Breeze generally comes in and blows fresh— Saluted the Town at sun rise this Morning with 21 Guns, it was returned with the same number from a Battery in Town, several Vessels arrived amongst whom a Brig from N London. unbent some of the Sails &c.—

Wednesday 10th Unbent all our Sails— Crew employed mending them.— hauled a french Brig alongside— got the Yard takle on her foremast and hoisted it out.— sent Twenty two Sick Men ashore to the Hospital. others taking Sick hour— the grows very sickly.— at 10 AM. two Men swam away from the Ships Bows the french Brig laying at a small distance took them up— brought them on board and confined them in Irons.—

Thursday 11th At 9 AM. Went ashore to Town with our Commissioned Officers, who in company with our Capta. waited on the General, Intendant— Commanding Officer— and several other Officers and principle Inhabitants of the Town. this is a Custom made use of and expected by our Allies.— Dined with Mr. P——d one of our Passengers— who has treated us with every mark of politeness— in the Evening accompanied him to the Play— their playhouse is large and very neat— superior much in every respect to the Theatre in Martinique in which is two or three good performers with an exceeding grand Orchestra of Musick this Town is much larger than I expected being superior to St. Pierrs it is most regularly built in small Squares.— the Inhabitants dress very elegant— the Ladies ware most enormous large heads. bolsters on their hips by way of hoops.—

Friday 12th Went ashore this morning— Dined with a large Company at Mr. Calabash, a principle Merchant in this Town.— in the afternoon took a Walk thro' the Kings Stores and Yards. Visited several elegant seats along shore towards the fort.— in the Evening accompanied Mr. P.—d to a Ball at the Playhouse which is converted into an Assembly Room by laying a Stage over the Pit.— the Company small but elegant.—

Saturday 13th Accompanied the Captain and Officers this morning waiting on several Gentlemen, amongst whom was Mr. Choisel— Governor of the Southern part of the Island.— Waited on Mr. Vevie and Mr. Ravy— Merchants in this Town to whom I had Letters and was received with the utmost Politeness.— Dined at Mr. P.— spent the afternoon viewing the Town.—

Sunday 14th Dined in Town to day with a large com-

pany at Mr. Denny's a Mercht. here from Boston, spent the afternoon there. in the Evening went to the Comedy being too late our seat was filled did not stay. afterwards was conducted to a Mustee Ball— they dress in same taste as the white Ladies and dance tolerable well— slept ashore at Mr. D.—ys

Monday 15th Returned on board to dress this Morning— at 10 AM accompd. several of the Officers out to the Hospital where we spent the Day most agreeably with the chief Surgeons and several other Gentlemen their Hospital is very spacious about a mile and half from Town, situated on a rising plain at the foot of a Mountain, the Surgeons Hall is elegant from which you have an agreeable and extensive prospect of a large Plain for many Leagues distance at the back of the house there is an elegant Garden with a variety of Fruits and a very fine Fountain which throws the Water perpendicular upwards of 20 feet— here we have 20 odd sick all recovering.— in the Evening returned on board the Ship.— arrived this afternoon a small Schooner from Phila. and a Brig from Salem.—

Tuesday 16th Spent the day on board fine cool Sea Breezes and pleasant Weather.— arrived this Evening to large American Ships from France belonging to Philadelphia.—

Wednesday 17th Went ashore this Morning with several of the Officers to the Admiralty on the Condemnation of our Prize.— dined aboard— afternoon ashore again— in the Evening went to the Ball— where we found a very large and brilliant Company— at 9 O'Clock waited on Mr. R. and his Lady home.— Supped with them and returned aboard.— a Brig arrived from Connecticut.—

Thursday 18th this Morning a small Schooner arrived

from Philadelphia.— several Caulkers employed Caulking the Ship.— all Hands employed clearing Hold in order to take in our Cargo.— Dined ashore— spent the Evening at the Comedy.— at 9 returned on board.—

Friday 19th Went ashore in the Morning on business.— Dined with the Marquis General and 2d in Command in this Island— after dinner the Card Tables introduced spent an hour at them.— General appears to be a very polite agreeable Genta.— but as he did not understand English or we french rendered our Company less familiar and agreeable than if we cou'd have supported Conversation.— paid a few friendly visits in the Evening and returned on board.— Caulkers at Work. hold unstoe'd &c.—

Saturday 20th Early this Morning the Capa. went out of Town with Mr. Lorey on a Visit in the Country for a few days.— at 9 O'Clock a Messenger arrived from the Governor desiring the Commanding Officer to wait on him— at 11 AM the first Lieutt. sent off orders on board to bend sails and get the Ship in order for Sailing on a short Cruize to Convoy in an expected French fleet from Martinique, at 1 AM the Lieutt. returned on board and informed us the Cruize was given up— as the Governor just received advice of the Fleets safe arrival at Port Louis on the S. part of the Island— spent the afternoon.—

Sunday 21st Spent the forenoon aboard. several American Captains dined with us.— several Seamen belonging to the Phila. Ships lately arrived here offered to Enter with us on account of the bad treatment they received from their Captains consequently the Officers of the Ship were in duty bound to receive & enter them in the service— upon the Officers going on shore met with the Capas. of the Ships who insulted the Officers and the service despised

our Authority & rejected our orders— our barge in the afternoon went aboard one of the Ships for the Peoples Cloaths the Commandg officer confined the Barges Crew for some time— these Audicious Offered to the American flag by the Subjects of America, highly required us to punish the Offenders— for which purpose we stated the matter to the General who ordered the Commander of the Ships before him next morning.— In the Evening went to the Comedy— Supt with a friend— at 10 went to a Masquerade Ball— but the Evening being rainy the did not assemble— slept ashore.—

Monday 22d Early this morning the 2d Lieutt. went on board one of the Ships Capt. to demand the Mens Wages which we had entered— but the Capa. treated our Lieutt. with the utmost disrespect and scurlty [?] but it served no other purpose than an addition to his Crimes yesterday— and determined us to bring him to a sense of his erroneous conduct—at 8 O'Clock our Officers with the Masters of the two Merchantmen went before the General who after a long Examination offered to put them in Goal and punish them according to the Laws of the Country if we required it— but the delinquents acknowledged their errors begged every Officers pardon belonging to the Ship that they had insulted and promised for the future to pay due respect to the Officers and flag of the United States, upon which they were discharged.— a frequent Conduct of this kind where insult is offered wou'd bring our Flag in more respect.— at 11 AM arrived here the Privateer Brig *fair American* belonging to Phila. 26 days out— during which time she capt'd. two Brigs off Carolina one Loaded with dry Goods which she sent into Phila. the other loaded with fish which she brought here with her— also arrived a sloop

from Connecticut— and the Brig *Neptune* Capa. Burroughs from Phila.— afternoon went ashore with Mr. P——d— paid a visit to Mrs. V—— the finest Woman I have seen in the Island— yet I cannot converse with her— a most unhappy circumstance— returned aboard in the Evening.—

Tuesday 23d On board the greatest part of the day— the Cutter and Barges Crew ashore getting 5 Anchors down on the Wharf ready to take on board— took a Deserter out of the *Fair American*.— ashore in the Evening went to the Play sup't ashore and returned on board.—

Wednesday 24th This morning a fleet of Deans & Dutchmen sailed from here bound to Windward.— aboard all the forenoon— blows fresh— a Schooner one of the fleet that sailed this morning returned having sprung a Leak Sailing in the Cutter this afternoon.—

Thursday 25th Went ashore this afternoon on business— Capa. Harding returned from the Country. Dined aboard— at 2 PM arrived a Brig— Capa. Earl from Rhode Island— ashore in the afternoon went to the Comedy and supt with a friend.— returned on board about 10 OClock

Friday 26th Two flats employed filling water— Crew clearing the hold to receive the Anchors Dined with Mr. R—y— spent the afternoon ashore— in the Evening the Anchors came alongside— arrived a Schooner from Boston— returned on board in the Evening.—

Saturday 27th At 12 O'Clock the *Saratoga* Sloop of War Capa. Young arrived here with a Prize Ship Mounting 20 Guns Loaded with Turpentine the *Saratoga* sailed the day before us and has made three Prizes.— ashore after dinner— Went to the Play— and supt with a number of American Gentlemen and returned aboard.—

Sunday 28th Two Gentlemen from Town breakfasted

with us. at 8 O'Clock this morning the *Saratoga* saluted the Town— the first Gun fired unfortunately proved to be Loaded with a round shot and Grape supposed to be put in by the Prisoners which killed a negro Woman ashore.— and in loading one of the Guns without Springing killed a Man and wounded another— Dined in Town with Mr. V—— Waited on the General at 4 O'Clock respecting the misfortune attending the *Sarata*. Salute. at the Comedy in the Evening— supt with a friend at 11 went to a Masquerade Ball— but only two or three Masks— and the Assembly of Ladies but few it appeared More like a Country frolick than a Masquerade at 12 the Company broke up.— Slept ashore

Monday 29th Warm weather People growing Sickly 60 at the Hospital.— filling Water and Caulking Ship.— With the Capta. & Officers dined with Mr. Lavo— the Genta. who Transacts the Loading of the Ship.— The Goods not being ready which are to carry home— the Governor has requested to Cruize for 12 or 13 Day.— accordingly Orders sent on board to bend sails and prepare the Ship for Sea.— at 1 PM arrived the Kings Brig *Cat*— who is going with us as our Tender.—

Tuesday 30th Hauled the Prize Brig alongside and took out of her 30 Ton of stone Ballast— all Hands employed stowing hold— bending Sails &c. Dined with the Officers on board of Capa. French— at 3 went ashore— Spent the Evening at the Comedy and returned aboard.—

Wednesday 31st Preparing Ship for Sea— taking in stone Ballast— Wrote home to Philadelphia by Capa. Burrows Brig *Neptune*.— Ashore afternoon at 4 sent on board 31 french Troops for Marines— Unmoored Ship— Lodged ashore—

Thursday the 1st February Went aboard this Morning at sunrise— Calm weather.— about 8 got under way with the Land breeze soon out of the Harbour with the Brig *Cat* in Company having four American Vessels under our Convoy at 9 under moderate sail standing out from the Land— employed Quartering the Men— a Ship to Windward standing down for us— made Signals and fired two Guns to Windward— it proved to be the *Dean* Frigate having been Cruizing on the Coast 8 or 9 Weeks without success— she parted with us after giving them directions how to run into the Cape.— a very fresh Trade Course N.— at sundown the fleet Rief'd Topsails. the Land of Hispa. in sight bearing

Friday 2d February Weather moderate and Calm this Morning— the fleet in Company— in the forenoon frequent squalls of Wind and Rain Course N. & N by E.— at 3 let the Rief out of the Topsails and set the Mainsail— at $\frac{1}{2}$ past three discovered the West Cocas ahead— run down to it by Sundown hove the Barge out and sent Signals on board of the french Brig— and Letters on board of the other Vessels for America.— at 6 hove too and lay under the Topsails untill 12 O'Clock then made Sail Wind E by N. Course N by E.—

Saturday 3d pleasant Weather and fresh Breezes— at 7 AM saw the West Cocas bearing S.E. 5 or 6 Leagues— at 9 saw Maguana on the Lee bow bearing WNW distance 6 Leagues.— Steering N. by E.— at 9 PM lost sight of all our Convoy the steered more the Northward.— the Brig *Cat* in Company.— Latde. at Meredian by Observation $22^{\circ} 20''$ N.—

Sunday 4th fresh Breezes at E by S.— the Brig in Company— the Ship thought to be out of trim run the four bow Guns aft with all the People sails something better but the

Ship wants more ballast— blows fresh at ? the Top-sails— at 1 Wore Ship to set up the Starboard rigging— at 4 wore Ship again Course NE by E.— Lat. by Observ. at Meridian 23–25" N. Maguana bearing S 24° W. dist. 103 Miles

Monday 5th February Cloudy Squally Weather in the forenoon Winds ESE. Course N.E. the *Cat* in company— employed trimming Ship took the Provision & Ballast out of the fore hold into the after hold for that purpose the *Cat* in company— Exercised at the Cannon and small Arms.— Lat. at Meridian by Obs. 25°–1" N— Long. 71° 17" W. Maguana bearing S 29° W. 185 miles

Tuesday 6th Pleasant moderate Weather the fore part of the day Course NE by E. Wind SE by E.— at 12 wore ship— Course SW by S. Wind SE by S.— at 2 PM squally with Rain— at sundown the *Cat* astern lay by for her— at 8 PM. Tacked Ship Course E. Wind SSE. and pleasant weather. Lat. by Ob. 26°–07" N. Long. 70°–18" W Maguana bearing at noon S. 31° W 264 miles

Wednesday 7th Light Winds and smooth Sea Course the forepart of the Day E by N.— afternoon Winds variable and light in the afternoon Exercised the Cannon and Marines at small Arms with Powder. the *Cat* in company— Calm in the Evening— Lat by Obs. 26°–02" N. Long. 69°–36 W. Turks Islands bearing S. 6° W dist 279 miles

Thursday 8th Light Winds almost Calm at S.— Course ESE.— Washed Ship fore and aft— Caught a Dolphin. after Meridian light Airs very variable at 5 squalls of rain took in T.G Sails Wind SW Course SSE.— Lat by Ob. 26–12" N. Long. 68–45" W.—

Friday 9th Light Airs of Wind At South this morning.— at 9 AM discovered a small sail from the T. G. mast head

in the NE.— made signals to the *Cat* and both gave Chace— continued the Chace Calm at Meridian finding we did not gain much on the Chace gave it over and took in the steering Sails at two OClock— soon after a Brig discovered astern in Chace of us.— almost Calm. laid the sprit sail Topsail a back, and trimmed the other sails as not to make much headway in hopes to decoy her alongside— she gaining on us— at half pas three discovered another sail on our Weather Quarter standing for us supposed to be the others Consort hauled all the Guns but 5 of a side & Lowered down the Ports— at sundown she was within about 2 Legues of us but not liking our appearance she hove about & stood for the Northd & Westd. & for the other Vessel— being Calm thought it unnecessary to Chace— after dark lay the Main Topsail to the Mast— the *Cat* in Company. Lat by Obs. at Meredian $26^{\circ} 12' N.$ Long. $67^{\circ} -51'' W.$ Turks Isld. S. $24^{\circ} W.$ dist 244 Miles.—

Saturday 10th At 12 last Night Wore Ship head WSW.— saw the two sail bearing W by N. at 5 this morning made all sail and gave Chace with the *Cat* to the two Brigs ahead— very light Winds at SSW. at 9 one of the Brigs hove about and stood to Windward of us— We hoisted our Coulers and fired a Gun to Leeward the *Cat* being to Windward the Brig bore down to her and spoke with her then came down to us proved to be the *fair American* the other Brig her Prize which she took 8 days ago— a Privateer Brig of 14 Guns and 70 Men belonging to N. Providence— the *Fair American* made sail and stood after her Prize ahead.— almost Calm all day Course WSW. Exercised the Ships Marines with Powder in the afternon. Philip Carney a Marine died last Night about sundown the *fair American* got up with her Prize put about & stood for us— in Com-

pany with them all Night— Lat. by Obs. $25^{\circ}59''$ N. Long. $68^{\circ}11''$ Wt.—

Sunday 11 February Pleasant Breezes at S.E.— at 5 this morning discovered the *Fair American* ahead in Chace, made sail and gave Chace Course SSW. at 7 the *Fair American* brought the Chace too— Tacked and stood for us, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven sent our barge on board of her she was from St. Croise bound to N. Carolina. during the Chace she threwed her Boat overboard therefore our Capta. thought proper to spare him our Jolly Boat. at 10 took in the Barge and made sail in Company with three Brigs— Light Winds all the afternoon at SE. by S. Course SSW. Lat. by Obs. at Meridian $25^{\circ}09''$ N. Long $69^{\circ}16''$ W. Turks Islands bearing S. 12° W dist 228 Miles.—

Monday 12th Light Airs of Wind at SE by E. and very smooth sea. the *Cat— Fair American* and her Prize in Company— the Afternoon Wind E.— Course SSE. took in the middle & T.G. staysails at 6 OClock PM— Lat by Obs. at Mered. $24^{\circ}00'$ N Long. $70^{\circ}02''$ W. Turks Isld. S. 2° W dist 155 Miles.—

V

Letter from Hon. John Bassett Moore

Rye, N. Y., March 23, 1926

THE difficulty mentioned in the third paragraph of your letter of the 22nd inst. may, I think, be at once removed by referring to §468 of my Digest of Int. Law, vol. 3, pp. 718-730. Towards the end of the section, you will find a tendency in recent years, no doubt due to the influence of the Act of 1868, to hold any foreign allegiance, or oath of allegiance, to be incompatible with the retention of citizenship of the U. S. This tendency resulted in the incorporation in the Expatriation Act of 1907—one of the most ignorant and unintelligent bits of legislation ever enacted—of a clause declaring that the taking of any oath of allegiance whatsoever to a foreign power constituted a renunciation of U. S. citizenship. But, prior to that Act, then recent opinion fluctuated; and you may rest assured that, prior to 1850, no American official would ever have held that the mere taking of an oath of allegiance to a foreign power effected expatriation, in the sense of acquiring a new citizenship or losing that which preceded.

The words "citizen" and "citizenship" have been used in various senses. Thus, in the U. S., we speak of State "citizenship," which means only domicile, or often only a statutory residence. In the days in which Seth Harding lived, national restrictions on commerce were practically universal, and, in the colonial trade, the principle of national monopoly, which largely produced the American Revolution, everywhere prevailed. Seth Harding obtained citizen-

ship in a Danish colony no doubt for the purpose of securing trading privileges and the rights, such as that of free access to the courts, essential to the full enjoyment of those privileges. Even today there are countries, such as France, in which foreigners, as plaintiffs, are at a disadvantage in the courts, unless they shall have obtained a qualified "citizenship," usually called domiciliation. See Thrasher's case, 3 Digest of Int. Law, 719-721. Mr. Webster's original stand in that case no doubt was affected by the desire to avoid trouble with Spain over Cuba, for the seizure of which there was then a strong and increasing sentiment in certain quarters. This sentiment, only two years later, found expression in the "Ostend Manifesto," in resolutions in Congress, and in the career of John Slidell as U. S. Minister at Madrid. This tendency Mr. Webster, as a moderate man and a Whig, resisted when Sec'y of State; and his resistance led him originally to take an extreme position, in which he temporarily lost sight of the distinction between loss of citizenship and the loss of the right to national protection.

In view of the confusion so often exhibited on this subject, I have taken special pains to elucidate it. See "Loss of Right to National Protection," Dig. of Int. Law, §§474-483, vol. 3, pp. 757-795. Boards of Arbitration have shown more consistency in dealing with this question (Moore, *History & Digest of International Arbitrations*, vol. 3, p. 2729 et seq.) than have executive officials, who have been more subject to the influence of political exigencies.

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